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Henry William Poor.

The Committee on Publications of the Grolier Club certifies that this copy of "The Charles Whittinghams, Printers," is one of an edition of three hundred and eighty-five copies on hand-made paper, and three copies on vellum; that the printing was done from types which have been distributed, and that the presswork was completed in the month of September, 1896.

THE CHARLES WHITTINGHAMS

Yours most respectfully
C. Whittingham

THE
CHARLES WHITTINGHAM
PRINTERS

ALFRED W. ARMS

NEW-YORK
THE GROLIER CLUB OF NEW-YORK
MDCCCLXXXXVI

THE CHARLES WHITTINGHAMS PRINTERS

BY

ARTHUR WARREN

NEW-YORK
THE GROLIER CLUB OF NEW-YORK
MDCCCLXXXXVI

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PREFACE

IT may easily be believed that this would have been a better book had it been written by another hand, and written years ago while the Whittingham correspondence and many other useful papers were extant, and while there still lived certain men whose recollections might have increased the information, as well as the number, of these pages. But it is not conceivable that any author could be served with greater loyalty and enthusiasm on the part of his printer than I have been by Mr. Theodore L. De Vinne. In his advice and cheerful, untiring labor I have found inestimable help. Of his skill I need not speak.

A. W.

London, September, 1896.

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THE CHARLES WHITTINGHAMS PRINTERS

CHAPTER FIRST

THE CHARLES WHITTINGHAMS, Uncle and Nephew, were creditors of our age, or, at least, of those among us who confess a liking for comely books. There is a real debt of thankfulness still owing them, and a considerable balance of it will be carried forward to the account of generations which are yet to come trooping along with Time. Chance has somehow left unrecorded until now the annals of this worthy pair of English printers, and the pity of it is that few men now living can recall particulars of them, and of these few none

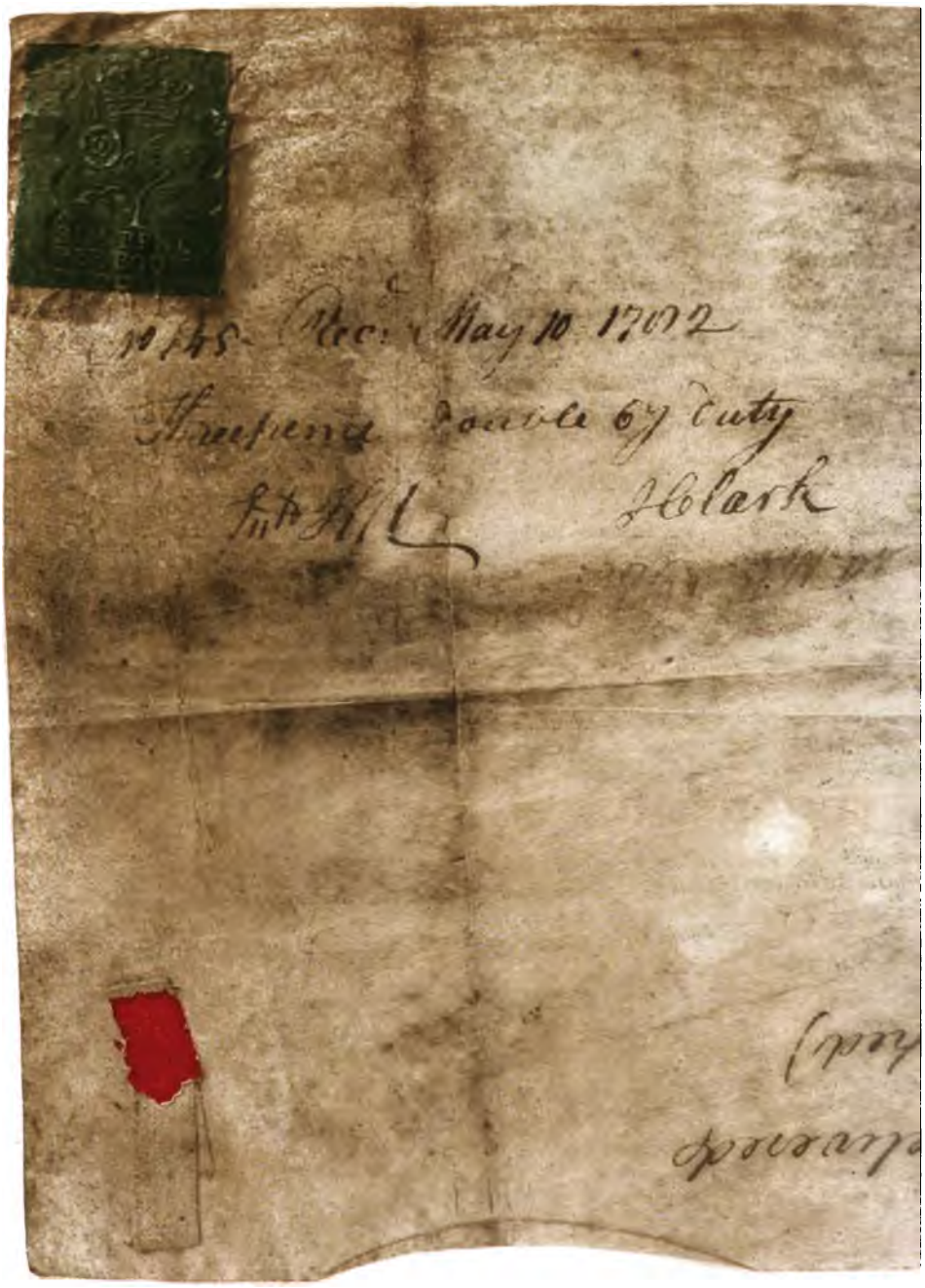
was intimate with the senior or the junior. The Whittinghams appear to have been modest men, retiring in disposition, and uncommunicative in personal affairs. Save their works, which are sought by collectors, and save the establishment they founded, hardly a memorial of them is extant. A box of musty ledgers; a bundle of faded, disconnected memoranda; an unassorted budget of family traditions, for the most part fragmentary and inconsequent; and a brace of half-remembered bookseller's legends, comprise the meager stock from which a chronicle can be persuaded. The equipment is scanty, and the venture made at the risk of falling on the near side of desire. For though the theme is ample enough,—the Whittinghams having firmly established the art of fine printing in England, and having been the first to urge the observance of good taste, the love of beauty, and the aid of perfect craftsmanship in every mechanical detail of book production,—not more is here attempted than to set down for the diversion of them that have a fondness for fair volumes an appreciation of the Uncle and the Nephew, who served their art as loyally in London as Aldus and the Didots, as Plantin and the Elzevirs, had served it in Venice and in Paris, at Antwerp and at Amsterdam.

As "The Uncle" and "The Nephew" the Whittinghams are still spoken of by their de-

scendants, by the few bookmen whose memories stretch back to them, and by collectors who discriminate in imprints. It is easier thus to distinguish them, because both men had the same Christian name. Charles the Uncle was the founder of the Chiswick Press; Charles the Nephew was trained by the Uncle, endured a brief partnership with him, and then set up for himself in Took's Court, near Chancery Lane, in London, bringing thither in 1852 the Chiswick interest, which he had inherited at his uncle's death in 1840. The Nephew continued the sole direction of the business until 1860, when he took a partner who relieved him from the cares of management. In 1876 he died, and the famous printing-house passed into other hands, although it retains to this day the Whittingham name.

Such legends as are uncovered give the Charles Whittinghams a character for gravity, even for grimness, which one with difficulty brings into line with their genius as craftsmen. They were silent men who "scorned delights and lived laborious days." The slightest account of pleasures is revealed in their story. For their day and trade the Whittinghams became rich men; and though they lived well enough, they lived simply, and with a daily dignity that was puritanical in its repression of small joys. They made beautiful books, and for these they had a tender love,

though, in the natural course of things, their personal relations were with publishers rather than with authors. Other arts than his own seem not to have allured the Uncle. The Nephew was a man of broader tastes, and I have heard that he performed most soulfully upon the flute. For sports the Uncle cared next to nothing. I do not find that in all the time he lived on the banks of Thames he ever pulled an oar. But the Nephew had a fondness for old Walton's lore and pastime, and could make a fly with the best of the anglers. Then, too, he took early morning plunges off the Eyot, after Edward Page, a bookseller, or stationer, at Hammersmith, had taught him how to swim. Neither the senior nor the junior Whittingham was ever known to mount a horse for any other purpose than to get to town and back again. Uncle did not seem to care much for animals; but it is related with gusto that Nephew once bought a dog, although I find that the object was to protect the Chiswick garden from marauders. Nephew, they say, was a sterner man than Uncle, and he set his countenance against the frivolities of this world. Yet he sometimes lapsed into fatherly indulgence, for I learn that he permitted his children to be taught music and dancing and drawing. And these children—two sons and three daughters — grew, under his guidance, to a shrewd and dainty taste in the gentle



Signed, sealed and d
(being first duly sta
in the presence of us

John Hulm
James Walker

craft of printing, and to the daughters must stand the credit for many embellishments which grace the Chiswick books.

The first Charles Whittingham of whom I have any account held Stoke Farm, a place of eighty-three acres, in a hamlet called Caludon, in Warwickshire, three miles from Coventry. His good wife Mary bore him four sons and a daughter, our printer, "the Uncle," being the youngest of the quintet. Humphrey, John, Samuel, and Rebecca were the other children. What became of Humphrey, John, and Rebecca I do not know; but Samuel followed his father's trade, and in the course of time married and begat a son—"the Nephew" of our chronicle.

The Caludon farmer was a man of fair prosperity, a devout Roman Catholic, and a hearty sympathizer with the American colonies in their disputes with his Most Gracious and troublesome Majesty George III. His youngest son, and namesake, was born on the 16th of June, in the year 1767. At this point the family legend lapses again to vagueness, and we jump twelve years for the next date, which is found in an indenture drawn and delivered on the 25th of March, 1779. By this document Charles Whittingham, son of Charles, is bound apprentice to one Richard Bird of Coventry, who in turn is bound to teach the lad, during the next seven years, "the

art and mysteries of printing, bookbinding, and stationery."

"The art and mysteries of printing" had in these islands fallen to decay. There was printing enough, but before John Baskerville no Englishman in the eighteenth century seemed to have the ambition, the skill, or the courage to make the business anything better than a plain trade. Even Baskerville, after six years of experiment and ten of production, had to abandon his heroic attempt to create an English taste for fine printing. He died four years before young Whittingham became an apprentice at Coventry. They make an odd contrast, the amiable and elegant Baskerville and the severe Whittingham. Baskerville in his youth had not prepared for a trade or a profession. A modest patrimony promised him a quiet life without labor. But at the age of twenty-one he was forced to begin earning. He became a writing-master at Birmingham. At the age of thirty-one he was teaching school in the same town. At forty-four he had acquired a fortune in the japanning business. At fifty he became a printer, after experimenting for half a dozen years in the production of artistic types. Baskerville was handsome, witty, and a lover of luxury. His coats displayed much bravery of gold lace; he drove a pair of cream-colored horses harnessed to an amazing fine coach; and he lived in a hand-

somely furnished mansion where he dispensed "a chearful hospitality." But at fifty-six he was poor again, and we find him lamenting that he had ever meddled with the press.

The books that Baskerville printed astonished the good folk who were sufficiently interested to examine them, and they delighted the smaller number that purchased the works. But praise alone could not uphold the Birmingham establishment. When one went heartily, as Baskerville did, into the manufacture of paper, type, "and all the apparatus of printing," it was not enough that he should be called "one of the best printers in the world." Appreciation which lacks a cash basis is a sorry supporter of trade. The fact was that Baskerville's countrymen did not concern themselves with his venture. They knew little, and they cared less, about fine printing. So, after ten years at his new calling, the pioneer wrote to Horace Walpole: "I have engaged in this hazard on the strong presumption that if I could fairly excel in this divine art, it would make my affairs easy, or at least give me bread. But, alas, in both I was mistaken." The booksellers did not choose to encourage him; and, he adds, "although the University of Cambridge have given me a Grant to print their 8vo and 12mo *Common-Prayer Books*, it is under such terms as greatly hurt me. . . . All this Summer I have had nothing

to print at Home. My folio *Bible* is pretty far advanced at Cambridge, which will cost me £2,000 all hired at 5 per cent. It was surely grievous that Baskerville could not, as he said, get bread in his own country, "after having acquired the reputation of excelling in the most useful art known to mankind, while everyone who excels as a Player, Fiddler, Dancer &c. not only lives in affluence but has it in their power to save a fortune." Baskerville abandoned his "divine art," and returned to the lucrative trade of japanning, at which he made himself rich again; and he died in 1775 with a small opinion of the English taste, and a "hearty contempt of the Christian religion." But if the Englishry suffered his art to languish, there were aliens of finer perception. Benjamin Franklin was his singular good friend; and a celebrated French society purchased his outfit of type, and with it printed Beaumarchais' superb edition of Voltaire.

Now the young Whittingham, who was diligently learning his trade at Coventry, must have heard of the strange hazard at Birmingham, only a few miles away, and he may have encountered a copy or two of Baskerville's admirable volumes, and by such chance have conceived an ambition to excel on his own account. A tradition of this sort survives. At any rate, Charles Whittingham was a likely fellow enough. It is known that

there was nothing astir in the printing world with which he did not speedily acquaint himself. It was characteristic of him through life that inventions attracted him by their novelty. He had not the proverbial English horror of innovation. He was always looking for an opportunity, and when he discovered one he seized it. In certain lists of the time his name appears among the subscribers for books that were printed at London while he was still in 'prentice bonds. So it may be taken that he used his earnings with discretion, cultivating a taste for good work according to his lights. As soon as he was free of the indentures he made his way to London to try for fortune there.

There was a native shrewdness in the youngster. When he left Coventry with all his possessions on his back he was determined to become not only a famous printer, but a successful one. John Baskerville had won repute at the cost of his peace and his wealth. But Charles Whittingham was not deterred by the slights which had been put upon the first English printer of his century. It was enough for him that he would have to risk no competition in excellence. The field was clear.

For this is to be remembered: that so far as there has been any movement in the art of printing, it has been, even to our own day, a vacillating one. The art of printing from movable types was nearly perfect at its birth. Wonder-working

Time has wrought upon it but few added charms. Music and painting, architecture and sculpture, developed slowly, and with infinite labor, their harmonies of tone and color and form; but the latest achievements in typography barely excel in beauty the work produced four hundred years ago to the astonishment of man. Inventions have multiplied beyond the power of human wit to number them, and the press has known its share in these aids to facility. Yet, though we print quicker, and cheaper, and with greater variety, and though we print more and more as the days drop from the calendar, there falls from the vast, complex mechanism of the nineteenth century nothing lovelier than the sheets printed by the primitive and laborious implements of the times of Gutenberg. This art has in all countries known its periods of inspiration and its periods of depression, its eras of revival and decay. In England, despite the sacrifices of John Baskerville, the eighteenth century was a time of falling off. But there came a young provincial, fresh from his apprenticeship at Coventry, and to him our modern psalmodists of progress owe the revival which lures their lusty song.

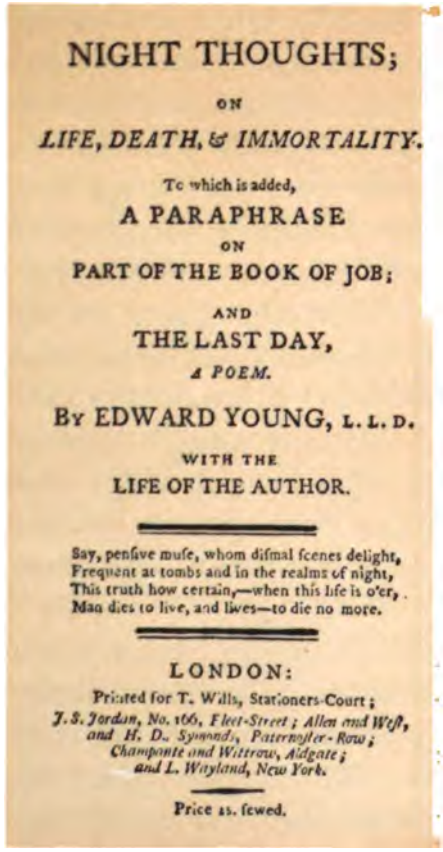
Some say that Whittingham went from Coventry to Birmingham, that he might study at the famous press which a patriotic mob had not yet wrecked; others contend that he came straight to London and engaged with Hughes, the predeces-

sor of the Hansards. Both tales lack confirmation, but each is probable enough. In any case, Whittingham was free of Coventry at the close of March in 1786, and at the age of nineteen. Three years later we find him in London setting up a press in a garret in Dean Street, Fetter Lane. To make this venture he must first have had some acquaintance with the trade in town. He was keen enough to know at twenty-two where opportunities arose, and to have saved, or borrowed, capital enough to equip a modest office and put out a sign. The apparatus and the processes of printing were then, and for a dozen years thereafter remained, identical with the means employed by printers a hundred years before. The presses, the pelt balls for inking the type, and the type itself, in use when the first Whittingham set up for himself, were faithful reproductions of the implements described in "Moxon's Mechanick Exercises, or the Doctrine of Handy-works Applied to the Art of Printing," published in 1683; and the first press, a wooden one, that the Uncle used in Dean Street was employed within recent years for pulling proofs.

There is no record of the young man's work during his first three years as a master printer. He had, no doubt, to confine himself to "job orders" of a minor sort. The slender plant he commanded would have made this necessary. He

combined, for a year or two, the duties of compositor and pressman, clerk, manager, office-boy, and solicitor of orders. But with the sunshine of his diligence his venture grew, and in the third year it attained the distinction of accounts in double entry, the first item bearing the date of July 16, 1792.

A chance acquaintance in the preceding March had put Whittingham in the view of the publishers. He had fallen in with a Mr. Wayland, a New York bookseller who had come to London for a stock of volumes. From Wayland, Whittingham received an order for a catalogue, and a fair amount of other work came to him through the same source. Thomas Wills, a bookseller of Stationers' Court, had projected an edition of Edward Young's "Night Thoughts," and Wayland had agreed to take a por-



NIGHT THOUGHTS;

ON

LIFE, DEATH, & IMMORTALITY.

To which is added,

A PARAPHRASE

ON

PART OF THE BOOK OF JOB;

AND

THE LAST DAY,

A POEM.

By EDWARD YOUNG, L. L. D.

WITH THE

LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

Say, penſive muſe, whom diſmal ſcenes delight,
Frequent at tombs and in the realms of night,
This truth how certain,—when this life is o'er,
Man dies to live, and lives—to die no more.

LONDON:

Printed for T. Wills, Stationers-Court;
J. S. Jordan, No. 166, Fleet-Street; Allen and Weſt, and H. D. Symonds, Paternoſter-Row; Champante and Wittrow, Aldgate; and L. Wayland, New York.

Price 1s. ſewed.

tion of it to America. It was the custom in those days for a publisher to distribute the manuscript of a book among several printers, for the purpose of hastening production, which even then was slow and laborious enough on the simple apparatus of the period. So it came about that, on Wayland's recommendation, a few pages of the "Night Thoughts" were set up and printed in the Dean Street garret. The volume as it stands is of small account. It is characteristic of the ugly book-making of that age, a crowded 24mo in blinding nonpareil. The small part that fell to Whittingham's share was the half-sheet which makes the first eight and the last four pages, and these are two lines longer than their neighbors. No printer's name is affixed to the book, but I find in the dusty ledgers that Whittingham presently establishes a regular trade with Thomas Wills, and with Jordan of Fleet Street, and Symonds of Paternoster Row, who were also interested in the "Night Thoughts," and that other work was done for Mr. Wayland after that beneficent merchant had returned to New York. But there is nothing of note or beauty, and except that Thomas Paine's "Letters to Dundas" were printed in October, the year 1792 passes without further event, and Whittingham makes a subsistence by printing cards and small bills, and law stationery. What I chiefly note is that the business develops in bulk if not in character, since

our printer is at a weekly expense of ten pounds for payment of wages.

Nothing of value comes from Whittingham's presses — for he has two or three — in 1793, but there is an unconscionable bulk of matter. Sermons, theological treatises, "Ladies' Companions," "Gentlemen's Pocket Books," "Christian's Repositories," and "Juvenile Pieces" make up the greater part of the show. A passion for religious reading seems to have seized the population of those days. Or was it that Charles had found favor only with the publishers of this placid literature? Thomas Wills has a mighty connection with the unco' guid, and he orders twenty thousand posting-bills for his "Christian's Repository" in a breath. At this rate the young printer must have been compelled to move down-stairs, a flight or two from the garret.

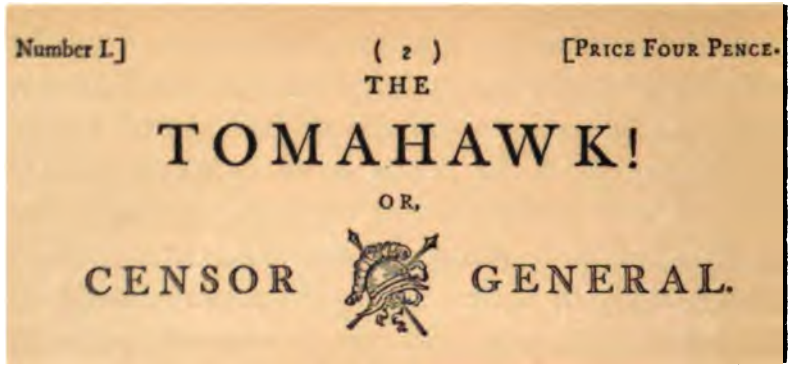
All the other Whittinghams were Roman Catholics, and stout in the faith. But Printer Charles went on Sundays to the Anglican Establishment, and as, in the course of nature and ripe age, he was buried by it, the presumption is that he became a member of its communion. But the Baptists, not less than the Anglicans, were contributing to his business in those early days. Moreover, for some months the weekly printing of two papers called "The Sunday Reformer" and "The Town and Country Herald," for a Mr. Riley

of Ludgate Street, added to the importance of the growing enterprise, albeit neither sheet demanded more than eleven hundred copies to the issue.

The William Caslons, "Letter Founders to the King," were the chief persons of their trade in England during the last century. At the beginning of the Whittingham enterprise the type-founding firm advanced some thirty pounds sterling to the youth from Coventry who became their lifelong customer and friend. Whittingham's purchase of types from Caslon's made an annual bill of quite five hundred pounds sterling at the period where we now encounter the printer. But the alert young man did not employ the whole of this vast mass of leaden letters in his office. Much of it he sold, for he had engaged in the business of supplying other printers with material, and from the profit he increased his own fonts, so that his cases held a great variety of styles. He printed for Caslon, in the years 1794, '95 and '96, books of specimen types, showing all the English letters then in vogue, and many foreign ones, in languages dead and living. Perhaps it was on the strength of these sample-books that a philologist came to his press with proposals for a Chinese dictionary. Circulars were issued, but the subscriptions were not encouraging, and the speculation was abandoned.

In the Whittingham annals of 1795 the important

event is the birth of Nephew Charles. When the Uncle left bachelordom for the married state I do not know, but he did marry a Miss Mary Mead, who predeceased him, and who left no issue. Early in '95 the busy Uncle finds a new customer in "Mr. Badini, at the Opera House." Still, nothing that we care for comes from the press-room until October, when the title-page and the preface to the second part of the "Age of Reason" are printed there. Stay! There is "The Tomahawk," a lively newspaper, which flourished for five months, hotly supporting the King and chas-


Number I.] (2) [Price Four Pence.
THE
TOMAHAWK!
OR,
CENSOR GENERAL.

Reduced facsimile. Size of leaf in original is 7⅝ by 12½ inches.

tising the Jacobins. "The Tomahawk! or, Censor General," descended on the town on Thursday, October 27, 1795. Its first number contained six pages, and sold at four pence. Its second number appeared a week later as a daily paper of four pages, and at the price of two pence halfpenny,

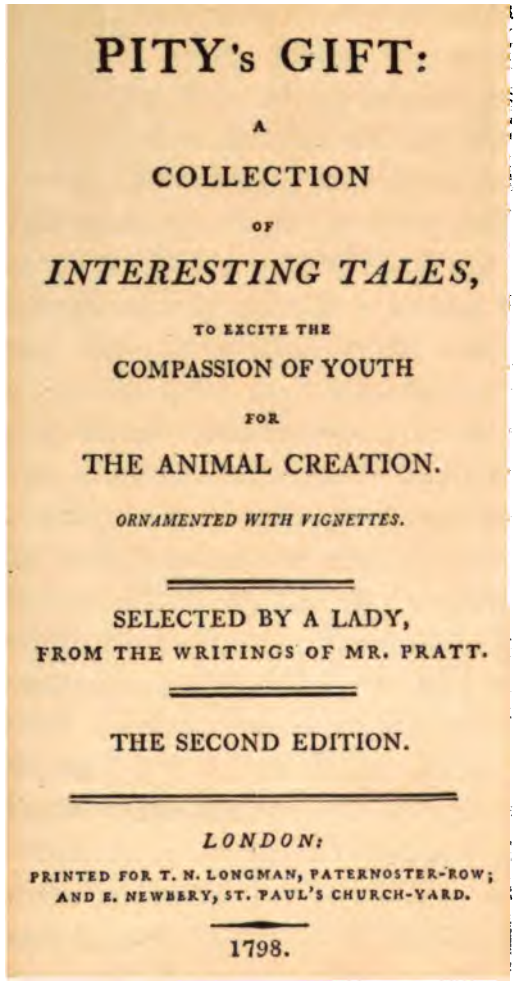
"several Respectable Circles" having advocated the change. The journal made some stir in the town. It was unsparing in its adjectives. It hit hard and it hit home. People were curious to know who owned, who wrote, and who printed this roaring organ of high-toryism, but the secrets were not revealed. The only name that appeared in connection with the venture was that of "J. Downes, Bookseller, Strand, Near Temple Bar," who "Published for the Proprietors." But Whittingham was the printer, and in his ledger the charges are debited to "Dr. Arnold." On Guy Fawkes' Day he printed the sheet in red ink because the proprietors thought this "a suitable character" for the "Anniversary of the KING and PARLIAMENT of England having escaped from being blown up with GUNPOWDER, by the RELIGIOUS JACOBINS of old." The "Tomahawk" was nothing if not fiercely patriotic. It existed "solely to support the King and the Constitution against Republicans and Levellers." It proclaimed the King "one of the Best of Men, as well as one of the most PATRIOTIC of MONARCHS that ever reigned"; and it denounced all who opposed him in Parliament, or out of it, as "Field-Preachers of Treason, bribed with French gold." But the "Tomahawk" was the first victim of the law which it had so clamorously supported. It was killed by the stamp duty. Its one hundred and thirteenth number appeared

with a heavy mourning border. Yet its death-cry was for "The King and the Constitution," and though it lamented its own decease, its grief was not for itself but for the country. The "Tomahawk" was born with a circulation of one thousand copies; it died with a circulation of three hundred!

A tradition in the Whittingham family is that Charles the Uncle was the first printer—at any rate the first English printer—to produce what we know now as "India," or "Fine Paper," editions. And his beginning in this kind of venture was, as I learn, an issue of Tate and Brady's "Version of the Psalms," in 1795 or 1796. Quickly following this comes a handsome Prayer-book for John Reeves, who, from Cecil Street in the Strand, continues to order through various booksellers in successive years the Bibles and Prayer-books in which Whittingham the Uncle may be said to have done his first fine work. Samuel Arnold, Jr., of Duke Street, Westminster, is the first bookseller of his name to appear in the Whittingham ledgers, and he comes in the line of belles-lettres. But Heptinstall, who kept a shop in Fleet Street, removing to High Holborn in 1797, is a person more to our purpose, since he puts Whittingham to the printing of new editions of Boswell's "Johnson," and Robertson's "America" and "Charles V," each in three volumes, and a reprint of Rogers' "Pleasures of Memory."

The virtuous Heptinstall, had he lived to our time, would, I doubt not, after the manner of the English of the nineteenth century, have belabored the Americans for their piracy of British books. It is so easy to forgive one's own sins when contemplating the iniquities of others! To be sure, we deserve all the hard knocks that the English have given us for our literary buccaneering, but our cousins seem to have conveniently forgotten that we learned from them these processes of flattering pilfery. It may be that in the list of publishers the name of Heptinstall has perished, but it deserves to live as the name of an early and ingenious pirate. Mr. Brander Matthews, in his diverting pamphlet "American Authors and British Pirates," has reminded the modern Briton that the robberies have not been altogether of our doing. But in his record of the high-handed British plundering of American authors, the diligent professor tracked no freebooter who surpassed in daring the polite Heptinstall, a bold brigand who not only captured the argosies of aliens, but who made his own countrymen stand and deliver. They had a pretty practice of thievery in those days. The provisions of British copyright did not extend to Ireland. Sagacious British publishers drove coaches and six through the copyright schemes then in vogue. With gay disregard for the fact that many of their victims

were fellow-subjects under the crown, they tricked out edition after edition to the peril of authors' claims. Heptinstall used to flout writers so, and I believe that he laid the Reverend William Robertson under tribute in this amiable way.


PITY's GIFT:

A

COLLECTION

OF

INTERESTING TALES,

TO EXCITE THE

COMPASSION OF YOUTH

FOR

THE ANIMAL CREATION.

ORNAMENTED WITH VIGNETTES.

SELECTED BY A LADY,
FROM THE WRITINGS OF MR. PRATT.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. N. LONGMAN, PATERNOSTER-ROW;
AND E. NEWBERY, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

1798.

In 1797 Whittingham began the line of work which he followed to celebrity. The first book that he illustrated with wood-engravings was printed in this year, just after he had removed to larger quarters, No. 1 Dean Street, at the corner of Fetter Lane. It was ordered by Thomas Longman, of the well-known firm which, founded in 1725, has always had a Thomas Longman at its

head, and has always occupied the same premises in Paternoster Row. The title of the book was "Pity's Gift: A Collection of Interesting Tales, to Excite the Compassion of Youth for the Animal Creation." Later generations may or may not be enlightened if they are told that the stories were "Selected by a Lady, from the Writings of Mr. Pratt." Possibly the book excited the compassion of the youth of the period; probably it bored them if they were lads and lasses of spirit. It is very stiff reading. But from us the printer's work claims a moment's pause. There are indications of advance in skill, and a considerable taste in types, and this latter is so uncommon a quality in the English printing of the time that it becomes conspicuous. None of Whittingham's contemporaries is doing better, even in his costliest production. As Whittingham's first illustrated book, this may be cherished for curiosity's sake. Not that any merit is intrinsic in the pictures, or in the printing of them. The designs are crude, the blocks hacked in the fashion of the time, and the impressions are not superior to the contemporary average. Here our printer was working in a line new to him. He had not learned how to bring out the qualities of the graven block. That knowledge was to come later. But when he printed "Pity's Gift" he knew quite as much about the business as any of his contemporaries did; we may

be sure of that. The manner of the volume concerns us more than the matter of it, for the thing is a demy twelvemo in pica, and the imprinted price is half-a-crown.

I take this as the first of Whittingham's dainty booklets, although merely the germ of daintiness (or shall one say the promise of it?) is here. The thin, light volume, neatly bound in brown leather, clear in type and tasteful in margins and arrangement, is the herald of the charming workmanship which later on delights the judicious, makes a merry breach in the heavy traditions of the salesmen, provokes a battle among the publishers, and graciously transforms the gentle art of making books.

A woodcut from "Pity's Gift."

By some chance, "Pity's Gift" does not bear Whittingham's imprint. But the ledgers show that the edition came to two thousand copies. Two thousand more, for a second edition, were produced in September, and, when the year turned, two companion volumes were brought out—trifles

called "The Village Orphan" and "The Basket Maker, an Original Fragment." This precious pair formed a portion of the flotsam borne in upon the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries by the flood of ink then steadily rising. Sympathy reaches back to the youth of that era spelling its way through reams of mediocrity in pica and brevier. There was a solemn vogue for this skilly of the book-hacks. In turning those early leaves "intended to cherish in the minds of youth the natural principles of rectitude and benevolence which powerfully tend to promote the best interests of society," as the preface to this "Village Orphan" advertises, amazement grows by what it feeds on. The marvel is that the stiffness of that juvenile literature did not produce a generation of prigs. Affectation strutted on stilts over every page. Perhaps nobody read those strainings of elegance. But everybody bought them. Volume after volume, edition after edition, tumbled from every press where books were made in London.

The title-page of "The Village Orphan" bears Whittingham's imprint, and the firm of Longman & Rees, Paternoster Row, is there announced. Thomas Longman and Thomas Rees ceased rivalry after "Pity's Gift" appeared. They struck a pledge of partnership, and induced Charles Whittingham to print for them an edition of Johnson's

Dictionary in miniature. The prosperity of Whittingham is now apparently attested by the lease of a second house in Dean Street, and the tenancy of a residence at No. 9 Paradise Row, Islington.

I propose no bibliography of the Whittingham press. Many items are available, but it were a tedious undertaking to produce them, and an incomplete list would have no value in the eyes of those whose passion runs to dates and names. There was, throughout the history of the house, in the reigns of the Uncle and the Nephew, a steady march of books which left no mark of interest after they had passed beyond the counters of the tradesmen. Exploring the ledgers and the printers' shelves for traces of important first editions, I was puzzled a while by the scarcity of these relics. Deep in the mass were found reprints of good books which had long been familiar when Charles Whittingham put them into new dress; and here and there were discovered original impressions of works whose interest has lasted to our own time; but there was no such abundance as might properly have fallen to the presses of either the Uncle or the Nephew. Reasons for the lack presently became clear enough: the Uncle Whittingham provoked a war with their mightinesses the publishers, and his successor, Nephew, concerned himself chiefly with beautiful reproductions of old books.

As early as 1799 "The Poems of Mr. Gray"

were "Presented to the Public in a more elegant state of Typography than they ever before assumed"; and it is to be said for the Uncle Whittingham that no one has subsequently bedecked the elegiac poet in a more delightful habit. Our printer sold his edition to Mr. Miller of Old Bond Street, and to Mr. James Scatcherd of Ave Maria Lane. There was some stir about the book, and the company which the printer soon sent after it. Before long a fair train of prominent publishers found their way to Dean Street, and our goodman took a third house there for the accommodation of new business. Longman was already on his ledgers, and then the Rivingtons appeared there, and then John Murray, not to mention more. As the best printing in the town was to be had of Charles Whittingham, the best publishers found their interests to lie in dealing with him. But most of them did not remain with him very long; some stayed five or six years, others withdrew in a twelvemonth.

Printer Charles had a mind of his own. To manufacture books for the publishers was not with him a matter of great concern. To publish on his own account the books of his own printing was the affair he set his heart on. To bring out whatever he might choose, and in what fashion pleased him, was to his mind the end of printing. He believed in handy volumes, in dainty duodeci-

mos, and even smaller works, as against the bulky tomes favored of the trade; and when he issued his little books—books that could be held with delightful comfort, read with facility, and sold for a song or two—he ran full tilt on the opposition of vested interests.

The booksellers claimed copyright in the works of "standard authors"—works which were in fact the property of all who might choose to print and sell them. By some custom, written or unwritten, of the trade, these self-appointed guardians of letters divided the spoil, finding their protection in respect for each other's treasures. Moreover, they had a commercial fondness for big books, since big prices were attached to the heavy bulk. When Printer Charles appeared with his small, tasteful, and low-priced volumes, there was consternation in the shops. But the public conceived a fancy for the change. The neat, compact, attractive editions of the "Vicar of Wakefield," Bacon's "Essays," Pope's "Essay on Man," Gray's "Poems," Gay's "Fables," Thomson's "Seasons," and the rest, "in a more elegant state of Typography than they ever before assumed," were taken as fast as they were printed. The amazement of Paternoster Row gave place to entreaty. Would this damaging young man from the country cease his innovations? He should have all the work he wished for. But he budged not. He already had as

FABLE XVIII.

THE PAINTER WHO PLEASED NOBODY AND EVERY BODY.

LEST man suspect your tale untrue,
Keep probability in view.
The trav'ler leaping o'er those bounds,
The credit of his book confounds.
Who with his tongue hath armies routed,
Makes ev'n his real courage doubted;
But flatt'ry never seems absurd;
The flatter'd always take your word:
Impossibities seem just;
They take the strongest praise on trust.

A page of Gay's "Fables" of the edition of 1801.

much work as he could handle, and he was compelled to increase his facilities so that he could handle more. His faith in his dainty duodecimos found justification in the popular demand. The outraged publishers threatened to withdraw their patronage. Printer Charles bade them stay not upon the order of their going, but leave him to print his books in peace; and to the departure of many the eloquent silence of the ledgers bears witness.

The printer, no whit daunted, took a room in a coffee-house, and there enacted the part of auctioneer, knocking down his books to all and sundry. We can imagine the stiff gentlemen of the trade choking in their neckcloths! Here was a parlous blow at the prestige of their calling! But the bold venture had effect. It drew the attention of some booksellers who had souls above quartos, and who took no alarm from tasteful innovations. A few venturesome spirits opened their shops to Printer Charles, and then, with audacious disregard for the great ones, they gave him orders for his favorite editions. This was too much for the Lords of Folios. They denounced the enterprise as "piracy."

Among the more valorous merchants was John Sharpe, of the Strand, and presently of Piccadilly. For him Whittingham did much printing during the long fight between the "Pirates" and the

"Legitimates," for so the terms flew. Sharpe took up many of Whittingham's ventures. Sometimes the two men shared in a publishing hazard; sometimes Sharpe purchased editions outright from Whittingham; sometimes Whittingham printed to his order. But all this was as it happened. One of the joint ventures was a series called "The British Classics." For this a prospectus was issued in the style of the projected work. It was a politic declaration of that new mode in book-making of which Charles Whittingham was the originator. The editor, Dr. Nathan Drake, proclaimed it "a matter of just surprise that while various literary works have been made the objects of graphic illustration, and have recently passed through the press in a most expensive form, the excellent moralists of England should have been altogether neglected." "This defect," he wrote, "it is now proposed to remedy, on a scale at once liberal to the opulent and the amateur, and convenient to mediocrity of fortune."

So "The Spectator" and "The Tatler," "The Guardian" and "The Rambler," "The Idler" and "The Adventurer," "The Connoisseur" and "The World" were issued in two and twenty volumes, each volume having three parts, a single part being issued every fortnight. Twenty engravers, headed by Bartolozzi, and a dozen painters, the most distinguished Academicians of the time, em-

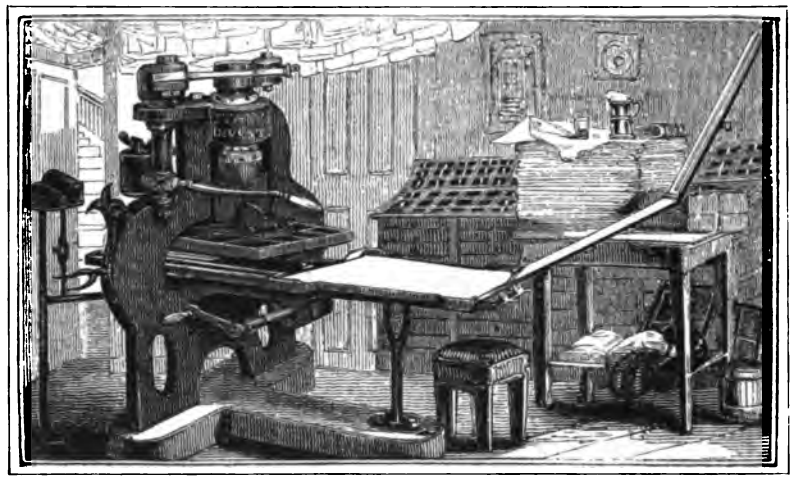
published the books. Type and paper were specially made; the first part appeared on the 19th of March, 1803; and the general verdict was that never had so fine a thing been sold for three and sixpence, nor had printer's work of equal beauty been hitherto lavished on English authorship.

A collection of the dramatists came next—an array of booklets known as "Sharpe's British Theatre." Then, in 1805, came the "British Poets," an issue not to be confounded with the famous Chiswick Edition which Whittingham produced some years later. They do say that certain pious ones in the parish of St. Andrew's thought the Uncle lacking in grace because he printed books of the play. But their minds were eased a little when they learned that the good craftsman was no patron of the theaters. The parish had a mighty respect for Sir Uncle as a ratepayer and a man of business, and it besought him tenderly to serve the community in some public office. But he was superior to temptations of that sort. The town-clerkship had no charms for him, nor had the headship of the constabulary. He declined all offices, and promptly paid the fines incurred by this heroic abnegation, until in a triumphant hour he was chosen Overseer of the Parish. To the surprise of the crafty who may have hoped to extort from him another fine, he accepted the election, saying, under a shrewd eye-twinkle: "Very well.

You have made me your master, and your master I mean to be!"

Zachary Macaulay, father of the great historian and essayist, came to Dean Street for his printing during five years. For him Whittingham issued in that period the first seventy-two numbers of "The Christian Observer." The earliest charge on this account is dated January 30, 1802. Two thousand copies of the paper were made at the start. The circulation never rose above three thousand copies weekly during the five years, and the average number struck was two thousand, up to the forty-eighth number, and twenty-five hundred after that. Beyond the accounts there is no trace of the Macaulay connection. Not so much as a scrap of paper has survived to show what was the manner of the intercourse between the strenuous Abolitionist, that severe sage of Clapham, and the man who "set up" and printed his paper and pamphlets. But the connection ceased at the end of 1807, and I think that henceforth Whittingham printed no more journals. These had brought him nothing but money, and he could not afford contentment with that kind of recompense alone. The printing of weekly papers could not at that day advance his art. He was already in the fine swing of book-work, and in that his fancy lay. He was prospering, too, in this line, and in 1803 he took a second workshop at 10 Union Buildings,

in Leather Lane. This place he called "The Stanhope Press." He had purchased the first press made after Lord Stanhope's new pattern, and within fourteen months he bought four more of the same design. One of these presses is still



The Stanhope Hand-press of Iron.

extant at Took's Court, and it bears, roughly chiseled on its frame, the legend: "STANHOPE INVENTI No. 5, 1804." In 1807 Whittingham shifted the entire business to Goswell Street, but he had not been settled there more than a year or two before he saw his way to a new enterprise.

Printer Charles knew the time of day quicker, I think, than any other man of his calling. There was not a project afoot that would serve his gentle craft but he had knowledge of it. Did an inven-

tion appear by which the apparatus of printing could be urged to a choicer performance, Charles Whittingham was the first to test it. He was an alert man. We have seen that clearly. This quality in him was allied with an ardent love of perfect workmanship. He had the courage of his taste, and with this advantage: that he was no loser by his pioneering. He was as bright at a trade as any of the clerkly in the kingdom; and he had ease of income soon after the century had turned, so that we find him quietly looking for investment, and by that chance was he led to Chiswick.

CHAPTER SECOND

DIDOT, the French printer, brought to England the first device for making paper by machinery. It was the invention of a fellow-countryman, one Louis Robert. At Two Waters in Hertfordshire lived Henry Fourdrinier, an Englishman of Huguenot descent, by occupation a paper-maker, and by some years of trade and greeting a friend of our Charles Whittingham. Didot submitted this invention to Fourdrinier, who vastly improved it; and the first machine-made paper produced in England was sent to Printer Whittingham. There appeared, later on, a genius named Thomas Potts, who had invented a contrivance for extracting the tar from old ships' ropes, and for transforming the

purified junk into material for the paper-makers. Whittingham purchased the patent of the ineuphonious Potts, began the manufacture of paper-stock at Chiswick, and appointed the inventor superintendent of works. This enterprise was started in 1809. Potts died in 1811.

Chiswick, a prosperous London suburb, was but a riverside village when our century was young. The new paper-stock works near the ancient church were seven or eight miles from Whittingham's printing-office in the City. Why the fresh venture was made so far afield one can hardly guess, unless the cheapness of rent and the ease and economy of water-carriage determined the choice of position. At any rate, the factory was started in February, 1809, and barge-loads of junk from the dockyards of Woolwich, Sheerness, Plymouth, Chatham, and Portsmouth were thereafter sent regularly up the Thames.

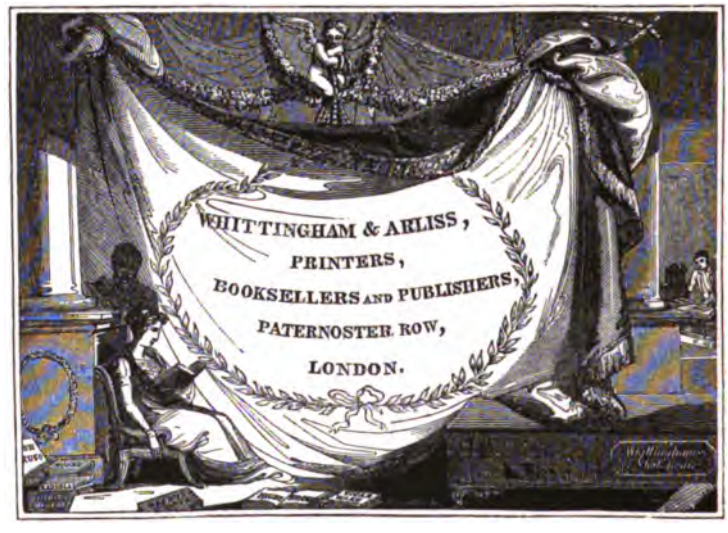
Henry Fourdrinier was Whittingham's principal customer in the paper-stock enterprise. He took the bulk of the output that came from the Chiswick factory. But events soon made it clear to Whittingham that he must give more time to the business than he had bargained for, so he went to live at Chiswick, leasing the High House on the Mall there, and leaving his London interests in the charge of Robert Rowland, who had been his foreman since 1798. He took Rowland into part-

THE HIGH HOUSE, CHISWICK MALL.

nership in the City business, but he held the separate Chiswick interests for himself; and he presently fitted up High House as a printing-office, thus bringing into existence the famous Chiswick Press. Ventures of one kind or another were breeding fast in Printer Charles's family of industries, and there seems to have been some speculation as to leases, since when he moved to Chiswick he was drawing rent from several buildings. Counting this play at landlordism as one interest, the paper-stock factory as another, the Goswell Street business—which called him frequently to town to supervise Rowland's supervision—as a third, we find him with a fourth enterprise of some sort at Jersey, and a fifth hazard dropping money for him now in Watling Street, and now in Paternoster Row. By this last engagement we get a pleasant sidelight on the character of the busy Uncle. He formed a partnership with one John Arliss, who sold books and stationery in Watling Street. To this interest the combination added another in bookbinding, shifting the concern presently to Paternoster Row. But the firm of Whittingham & Arliss was dissolved in 1817, after a profitless existence of three years. Arliss remained in Paternoster Row, and failed there in a few months. Then Whittingham set him up in business at 38 Newgate Street, where he failed again in a year. Still in kindness Whittingham enabled him to

begin once more, this time at 12 Staining Lane, off Wood Street. But the luckless Arliss fell speedily into hopeless bankruptcy; and then, in a happy-go-lucky way, he subsisted for a year or two as a Chiswick pensioner, carrying on a little printing-work in Gutter Lane, and then he died.

This period, from 1810 to 1815, was a period of transition in the development of Whittingham's



craft. Printer Charles was feeling his way. That high repute as a printer of illustrated books was yet to come; for the art of engraving on wood, as distinct from hewing and hacking on it, had but emerged from the unesthetic darkness of the time. The illustrious Thomas Bewick, to

be sure, was alive and strenuously working—too strenuously working, if we may judge by the thousands of maimed blocks that were foisted off on his name. He had produced his "Quadrupeds" in 1790, his "Land Birds" in 1797, and his "Water Birds" in 1804; but the blocks had been poorly printed, many of them wretchedly printed, some of them so vilely struck that, as Linton says, "at times we can scarcely discern what a block really is." The "Fables" were not published until 1818, and Bewick himself has recorded his disappointment at the treatment they received from the printers. It is a thousand pities that Bewick had not fallen in with Whittingham before the "Fables" came to light, because Charles's improvement of the delicate art of overlaying might have come the sooner. For it is to Whittingham that we owe the modern development of the means by which the press reveals the perfect beauty of the graven block. How it came about I know not, but it was doubtless in the simple way of important things. Every pressman in these days knows the device. The marvel is that no one practised it so artfully before Charles Whittingham. He was too obscure in 1790 to have been asked to print the "Quadrupeds"; yet I make no doubt that he would have hit upon his notion of overlaying his wood blocks in '97, had the "Birds" flown his way, or in 1804

for that matter. Bewick, however, was at the other end of the kingdom, and for many years nothing in the way of illustration came to Whittingham that was worth a moment's ingenuity. There is nothing to show the date of Whittingham's first perfect overlays. But we know that he was always experimenting in one way or another, and it is not improbable that he made many attempts before he hit upon the best method of pasting carefully-cut bits of paper upon the tympan of his press, the better to strengthen the impact on selected portions of the graven block. Perhaps the engravers were the first to suggest the practice, and in that case I am inclined to think that John Thompson was the helper. At any rate, Whittingham was the first printer to develop fully the overlaying of wood-engravings for book illustration.

He delighted in experiment, and he astonished his associates by what appeared to them a prodigious waste of material. And then he had a way of treating his inks so that he secured a more brilliant impression than any other printer could produce. Whatever his ink-making process was, he revealed it only to his Nephew, and he practised it in a little room which no other person, except the Nephew, ever entered. If you open any of the Whittingham editions which collectors prize, you will find that the ink has lost none of its brilliancy

in eighty or a hundred years; but that, on the contrary, it seems by some subtle quality to have improved in tone as wine improves with voyages and age. The Whittinghams created and nourished in England a taste for dainty books, and for the mechanic arts that evolved them. They taught the merciless trimmers of their time to yield a proper reverence for margins; they trained their pressmen to deftness in imparting "color"—a term employed by printers to denote the even distribution and depth of tone which the ink has on the printed page. So quick and keen was their sight, they could detect a fault across the room as the pages were passing from the press, and they would stop the task and compel the delinquent workman to overhaul the sheets and throw away every impression that did not bear the most careful examination. They would reject a hundred sheets for the sake of getting one that showed a perfect color, although to eyes less critical than their own the condemned reams appeared minutely admirable.

The Fox and the Wolf.
From "Æsop's Fables," edition of 1813.

Charles Whittingham, the Uncle, was the first

printer to print woodcuts perfectly; and I note that he made his first advances in this branch of his craft in the days of the Arliss connection. The first evidence is in a pocket edition of "Æsop's Fables" (Croxall's version). I stumble here on a pleasing coincidence. Croxall's version of Æsop was originally published in 1722, and "embellished with many emblematical devices," the earliest of the really fine work in English book illustration. Linton calls it "the fountain of the Bewick overflow." But the fountain was choked for sixty years until Bewick came and cleared it. One of Baskerville's first books was an Æsop—not Croxall's, however, and not illustrated on wood. Baskerville's artist drew on copper. That book of Baskerville's is one of the most charming things I have ever touched. I cannot say so much for Whittingham's early Æsop; but I find a pleasing coincidence in the fact that it was upon Æsop he made his first decent attempt at wood-picture printing. The work is done on that soft, silky India or China paper for which he had a fondness. The cuts are stiff enough, but we have no concern with their inferiority. In the printing of them lies their merit and the call to our attention. No engraver's name is shown, though I sometimes fancy I can detect a promise of Thompson in the blocks. This may be only a fancy fostered by the fact that at this time Thompson was en-

Designed by William Harvey. Engraved by John Thompson.
From "The Complete Angler" of Whittingham's Cabinet Library.

graving for Whittingham, and that he continued to work for him as long as our printer lived.

I have a copy of Whittingham's edition of the "Vicar of Wakefield," printed at Chiswick for the Arliss venture in 1815. It is one of my special favorites among the Chiswick prints. John Baskerville made nothing lovelier as a complete book. Yet the slender, graceful type in Baskerville's Æsop is more to my liking than the plumper letter of Whittingham's "Vicar." But Baskerville had cut his own type-faces; it had been his favorite pursuit, and he had designed letters for half a dozen years before he produced a book. Whittingham never made that kind of work a part of his craft; but he had great influence with the house of Caslon; he induced that firm to make several departures from the accepted line of founding; and, as we shall see, the Chiswick influence was strong enough later on to change the whole style of book-type back to the graceful mode for which Baskerville vainly tried to win popularity.

From the "Vicar of Wakefield," edition of 1813.

Some fifty or a hundred copies of Whittingham's "Vicar" were struck on most delicate pa-

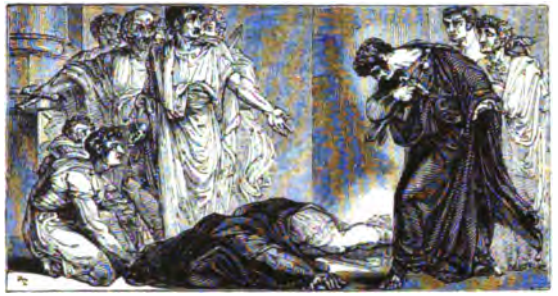
per, and gracefully bound in tooled and polished calf at the shop where Arliss was in charge. The dainty volume is less than half an inch in thickness, as it stands complete. It delights the eye; it captivates the touch; it is a thing to caress. Thirty little wood-engravings are in the book. John Thompson made them; and though they are designed with all the curious *naïveté* of the young century, the printing of them is perfection itself, and in that line nothing better has been done to this day. Thompson next engraved Thurston's designs for Whittingham's Shakespeare,—the edition of 1813; and then several hundred cuts for the twenty-one little volumes of "Dibdin's London Theatre," another venture of the Arliss days. John Thompson was coming forward rapidly. "He shows his full strength in 1817," says the discriminating Linton. He was identified with the many Chiswick editions of Shakespeare. In that of 1823 he has a superb frontispiece, one of his very best efforts. Thompson was helped on to repute by Whittingham's encouragement and admirable printing. Luke Clennell had been before him in Chiswick work. But Clennell's coming signified little, since he went again as quickly as he had appeared, and, having illustrated two volumes of "Robinson Crusoe" for Whittingham (the imprint is 1812), he abandoned the block and the graver for the palette and brush.

John Thompson's Frontispiece to the Shakespeare of 1823.

Portrait of William Shakespeare, drawn from the Bust in Stratford Church.
Engraved by John Thompson for Whittingham's edition of Shakespeare, 1814.

Frontispiece to Whittingham's edition of Shakespeare of 1814, in seven volumes,
with 130 embellishments. Engraved by John Thompson.

View of an ancient building in Henley Street, Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire,
with a reproduction of the Jubilee procession, September 6, 1769.



Engraved by Thompson for the Shakespeare of 1830.

From "The Seven Ages of Man."
Drawn by Stothard, and engraved by Thompson for the Shakespeare of 1830.

The name "Chiswick Press" is first used in the imprints of 1811. But no rigid system was adopted by Whittingham when giving his credentials to a volume. At one time his token is: "Printed at the Chiswick Press, by C. Whittingham, on the Mall"—this in 1811 to 1812; at another time: "Chiswick, by C. Whittingham"; and after 1816, when he removes to the corner of Chiswick Lane, he rings a great variety of changes in the style. He rarely printed or wrote his Christian name, but for some reason followed the ugly fashion of the single initial.

He gradually gave up the London business. Rowland had not succeeded with his end of the partnership, and so the arrangement was terminated, the Goswell Street establishment was closed, and the entire interest transferred to Chiswick. Whittingham had lost heavily by the Arliss compact, and the balance with Rowland was on the wrong side. Nevertheless, as Printer Charles had supported Arliss until the death of that luckless pleasure-loving wight, he gave Rowland employment at Chiswick for a year, paying him two guineas a week for his service. Then, I take it, Rowland went away for nine years, as his name disappears from the pay-list during that time, though he turns up again in 1827, and for two years draws a weekly wage of thirty-one shillings and sixpence, and then is reduced for a twelve-

month to a weekly guinea, and in July, 1831, draws his last payment and vanishes.

When the town place and the country place were in hand Whittingham had forty presses at work. But the losses he bore compelled retrenchment, so he reduced his forces and concentrated all his interests at Chiswick. He had found, what every man has to discover sooner or later, that no other will, nor can, do for him what he can do for himself. There is nothing so valueless as the experience of others. Charles Whittingham probably had advice enough, but no one ever learned anything by advice. The sweetest privilege of each generation is to reject the counsels of its predecessor, and to run blundering into the old pitfalls, which it could have avoided with half the pains it took to plunge into them. Charles Whittingham, I fear, saw too many worlds of promise, and longed to conquer all. With two considerable printing-places, a paper-mill, a bookshop, a bindery, a list of publishing ventures, a business of some sort at Jersey,—the nature of it, though, not clear,—and a variety of "partnerships" with certain booksellers who handled his prints, the energetic man was straining the business possibilities of those days, when there were no electric telegraphs nor railways to simplify the direction of so many scattered interests. So there was a thorough overhauling of affairs, and from

that time all the roads that Whittingham traveled led to Chiswick. He intrusted no other man with authority, but alone held the control of his ventures, and thereafter no cloud lowered on his prosperity.

An early device of Samuel Weller Singer.

A pretty fancy in books had been conceived by Robert Triphook, who kept in St. James' Street a fashionable shop for choice editions. Master Triphook began in 1814 to honor the Chiswick Press with his "esteemed favors." He brought with him Samuel Weller Singer, "a little gentleman with a big nose,"—this being the only description I can find of his aspect,—and there came straightway from the choicest types of the Mall a rush of volumes pleasing to the judicious. Mr. Singer was among the first of that fearless race of nineteenth-century *littérateurs* who have shown a passion for performing brave deeds of surgery upon the works of dead authors, rather than for producing books of their own. But this valiant father of the editors rendered a good ser-

Monogram of
Samuel Weller Singer.

vice in his day, if only for the reason that his prodigious energy resulted in a pile of choicely printed books. I believe that only one of these in the Chiswick aggregate was original with him—the "Researches into the History of Playing Cards, with Illustrations of the Origin of Printing and Engraving on Wood," of which two hundred and fifty copies were printed in 1816.

A good deal of Singer's "editing" was put forth in small editions, and at his own cost. He could afford indulgence of this kind, since he had inherited the fortune of John Douce, whom he had long served as librarian. Singer had a fair literary judgment, but his run was mainly with the curious. One of his first books from Chiswick was Sir John Harington's "Metamorphoses of Ajax," of which one hundred copies were printed. In the same year—1814—he produced a "Shakespeare's Jest Book," and after that his compilations and reprints came rapidly from the Chiswick Press. One of these, in 1817, was a neat revival of a curious old book of Douland—Robert, son of that John Douland who, according to Anthony à Wood, was "the rarest musician that his age did behold." Robert Douland's "Musical Banquet, furnished with a Varietie of Delicious Ayres, collected out of the best Authors, in English, French, Spanish, and Italian," had not been reprinted since it first appeared in 1610, but Singer

was at pains to get twenty-five copies made at Chiswick. Lovelace's "Lucasta," and other things worthy of note, were choicely furnished forth to the delectation of small circles of modern readers.

At such a pace were matters moving now, that Whittingham thought it the part of wisdom (and so it proved) to make a final shift, this time from High House to a more commodious mansion a little farther eastward on the Chiswick Mall. The place had been in days remote a manor-house, and so it still was known in title-deeds. Dean Goodman, of Westminster, acquired it for the Abbey Chapter as long ago as 1570, holding it for the good of Westminster School, whose boys were to retire there whenever a plague fell upon the town. Although the Chapter let the place, it could compel the tenant for the time to quit in the event of an epidemic driving the school countryward for security. I read of one such visitation, but no more. Dr. Busby, that famous and muscular pedagogue of Westminster, retreated to Chiswick with his scholars when the plague raged through London in the scorching summer of 1665; and it has been remarked that Busby's boys scribbled, as boys will to this day, their names upon the walls, and that among the scrawls those of lads afterward renowned in letters and statecraft survived a century and a half. No Whittingham that I have heard of saw these

relics; nor, in spite of the menacing clause in the lease, was the printer's tenancy ever disturbed by an inrush of Westminster boys.

Ever since Dr. Busby's enforced sojourn there the place had been popularly known as College House, and this term Whittingham often used in his imprints. The place stretched along the river, from the eastern corner of Chiswick Lane—house-front and garden-wall. The house had three sections; on the corner was the printing-office, and attached to this, still on the river-front, was the dwelling, a two-storied structure, ivy-covered at the back; and the third section, at the eastern end, contained the domestic offices. Printer Charles added here and there to the odd old pile, and laid bare some ancient foundations and thick walls which men learned in masonry pronounced Norman work. There was a big garden stretching up the lane and along by the river, and the Uncle ruled this garden, as he ruled his shop, in the line of strict discipline. He planted many fruit-trees there, but he would not permit the Sabbath to be broken by the picking of so much as a pear 'twixt Saturday night and Monday morning. The fruit grew, no doubt, on the Lord's day, and peradventure it fell within forbidden hours, but the chastening rod would fall upon the shoulders of adventurous youth caught in the act of lifting a

COLLEGE HOUSE: GARDEN FRONT OF DWELLING HOUSE.
From a photograph taken by a member of the Whittingham family.

Sunday's cherry from the ground. A prodigious quantity of fine vegetables was raised in the enclosure, but the gardener was compelled to cut a barrow-load on Saturday, and the cook was taught to make this load last a full week. Thus the good Whittingham, in the midst of plenty, fed on stale vegetables through many years.

But I am told that the Uncle Whittingham was of courteous habit, and that to all ladies he was remarkably deferential. When his portrait in oils, by Thomas Williams, was first exhibited to the neighbors in Chiswick, the feminine verdict was adverse to the *chef-d'œuvre*, because, forsooth, "Who ever saw Mr. Whittingham without a smile on his face?" The complacent Williams took back the portrait and introduced the smile in water-colors, quite spoiling the likeness, whereupon he reverted to the original presentment, which is now in the Hall of the Stationers' Company.

Williams was an engraver as well as a painter, and there is much of his work in the Chiswick books. He was an agreeable person, in spite of the fact that he laughed loudly at his own jokes. He smoked a long pipe, and it was a humor with him to blow through the stem till the bowl smoked like a chimney. He contracted the habit of debt, and never forsook it, although he had an abundance of work.

Designed by Charlotte Whittingham. Engraved by Thomas Williams.

Engraved by Samuel Williams.
Frontispiece to "The Noble and Renowned History of Guy, Earl of Warwick." Edition of 1821.

The Uncle Whittingham had a passion for driving down to Margate by the coach, and he went there so often that he found it pleasant to abide there for a while; so he bought a little house, at No. 4 Vicarage Place, a mile from the sea, and facing westward to a fair view over the country toward Birchington. In this retreat he ever after spent his holidays.

His journeys to town from Chiswick were usually made by the omnibus, which urged a brave career from Kew Bridge. In these excursions he often had the companionship of his spiritual guide, the Rev. Thomas Bowerbank, of the parish church at Chiswick. Mr. Bowerbank beguiled the pilgrimage with a close study of the City article in the "Times," and with learned dissertations on the price of Consols and the general and particular state of the money market. Yet in the pulpit he was an affecting preacher, and not the least of his accomplishments was the readiness with which he wept over his sermons, an emotional peculiarity which earned for him the name of "Crying Tommy." He had an outfit of sermons which covered every Sunday and every Holy Day in the year. When he had run through the list in December, he began it again in January. John Richardson, who was one of the best pressmen in the Chiswick printing-place, also served the community as parish clerk, and when that honest

office was abolished he often boasted of the many times he had chanted "Amen" to every item in "Crying Tommy's" catalogue of moving exhortations. The reverend gentleman was, nathe-less, a zealous patron of the Chiswick Press, and he had many elevating contributions printed there, so that I can highly esteem the compliment paid him by Charles Whittingham who, in a little red-covered memorandum book, inscribed this entry, under the date of May 25, 1836:

"*Should the Revd. Mr. Bowerbank perform the Burial Service over my Remains, I request that he may be presented with Ten Guineas.*"

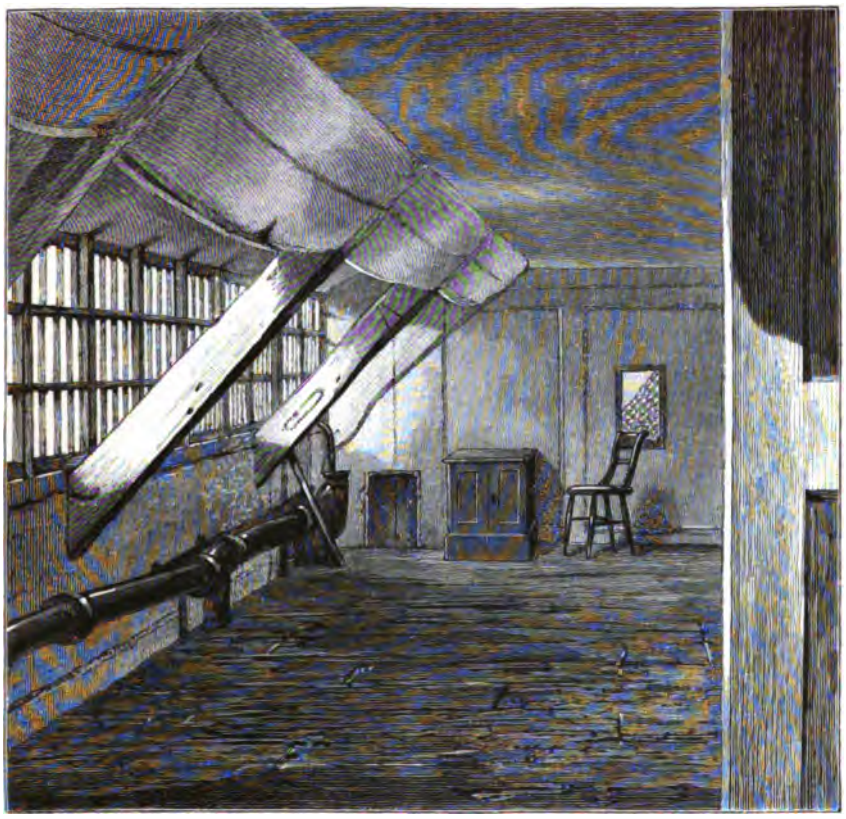
In the garden of College House Charles Whittingham used to sit on summer evenings, and, over wine or ale, talk of old books and new editions with the publishers who visited him in the picturesque and quiet country village. We can fancy Printer Charles and his friends plotting in that old-fashioned garden the fair editions which, as time passed, covered a vast range of English literature. Here he designed that famous Chiswick Press edition of the "British Poets" in one hundred royal 18mo volumes, limited to five hundred sets. This superb work was of his own inception. He selected the editors, ordered a spe-

From the title-page of the second volume of "The Poetical Works of Robert Burns." Edition of 1829. Engraved by John Thompson.

From the title-page of "The Fool of Quality." Whittingham's Cabinet Library. Edition of 1829. Engraved by John Thompson.

From the title-page of "Paradise Lost." Edition of 1829.

From the title-page of Young's "Night Thoughts." Edition of 1831.



THE OLD COMPOSING ROOM AT COLLEGE HOUSE.
From a photograph by a member of the family at time of removal to London, in 1824.

COLLEGE HOUSE. RIVER FRONT.
From a sketch by Charlotte Whittingham Stevens.

cial outfit of type, carried through the project in three years, and published the fifty thousand volumes on a given day in 1822.

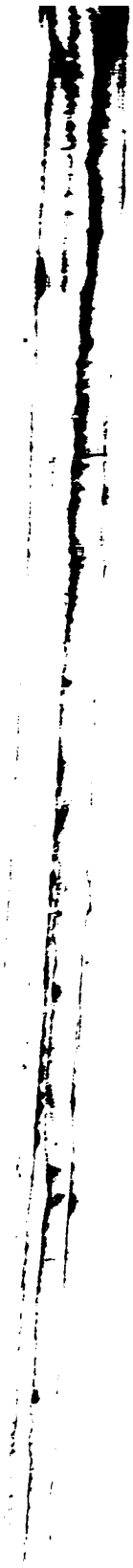
This would be, in its mechanical aspect alone, a huge undertaking for a modern printing-house furnished with all the time-saving accessories of our ingenious age. But Charles Whittingham had none of these modern aids to quick production. It has been observed that novelties attracted rather than repelled him. He used to say that if a thing had never been done there was all the more reason for doing it. A certain notoriety attached to him as that eccentric person who warmed his work-shop with hot-water pipes. When the rest of the world was ridiculing the new illuminant, coal gas, or terrified at the prospect of suffocation and explosion, Whittingham was eager to light his London houses with the strange device. He was one of the first men in England to use a steam-engine, and he employed the invention at his paper-stock factory. On the other hand, he never used an engine for printing. As it was with the Uncle, so it was in later time with the Nephew—man-power alone moved their presses. The object of the Whittinghams was to produce good work, not to outstrip time. A peculiarity of printing is that its perfect work can be done by manual and pedal power. Steam gives it expedition merely. And a peculiarity of

the Chiswick Press was that, until the Uncle's successor, Nephew, retired in 1860, steam-power never helped to make a Chiswick book.

Engraved by John Thompson.

Engraved by John Thompson.

Engraved by Samuel Williams.
From the title-pages of Whittingham's Pocket Novelists.



CHAPTER THIRD

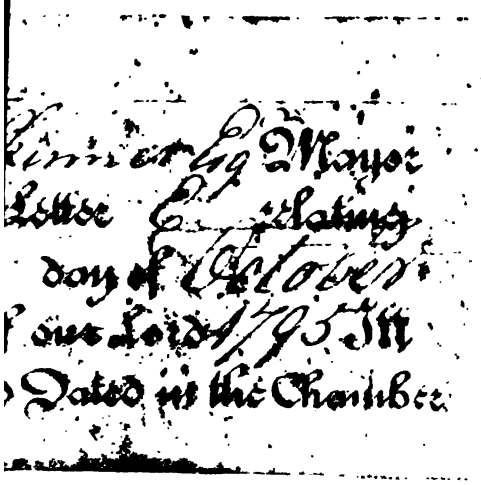
NEPHEW appears upon the scene in 1817, having emerged from the chrysalis condition of apprenticeship to the ampler dignity of a Freeman in the Stationers' Company, of which important organization he became a Liveryman in 1848. His portrait, painted when he was sixty, by Mrs. Furnival, and presented to the Company by his children, hangs in the Stationers' Hall. In 1817, Matthew Wood being Lord Mayor, he took up his Freedom of London City. We find him in 1824 a partner in the Chiswick Press.

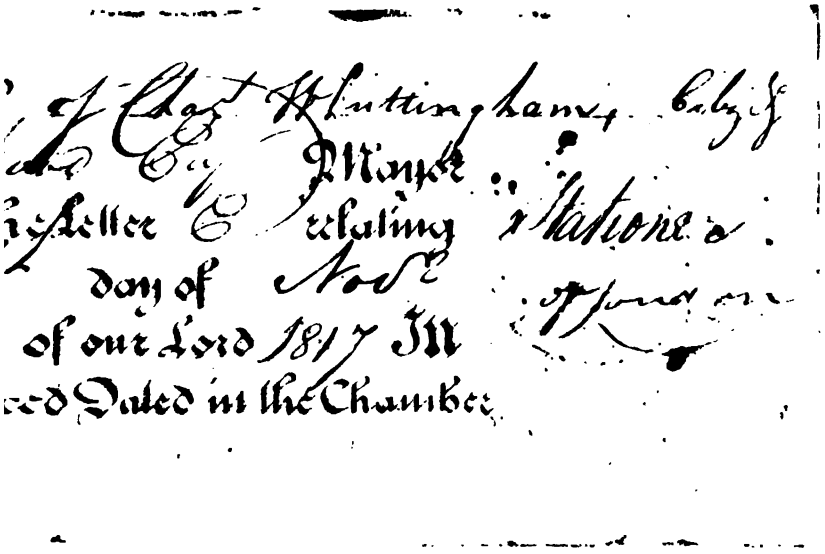
The Nephew bore the name of his grandfather, the Caludon farmer. He was born at Mitcham in Surrey, on October 30th, 1795. His father, the

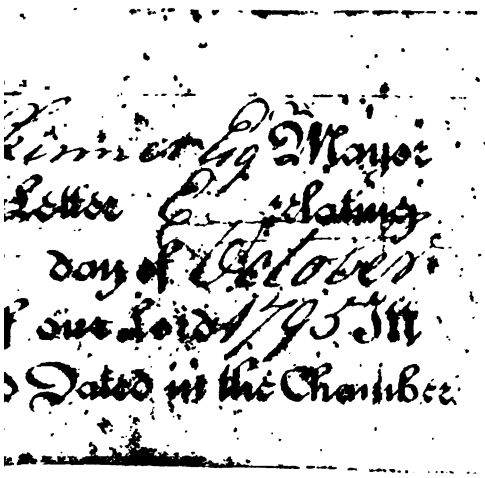
Uncle's brother Samuel, was a nurseryman, who removed, sometime after his son's birth, to Peace Bridge, in Middlesex. At the age of fifteen, Charles Whittingham the Nephew was apprenticed to Charles Whittingham the Uncle, Citizen and Liveryman, on the second day of October, 1810, the fiftieth year of the reign of King George III.

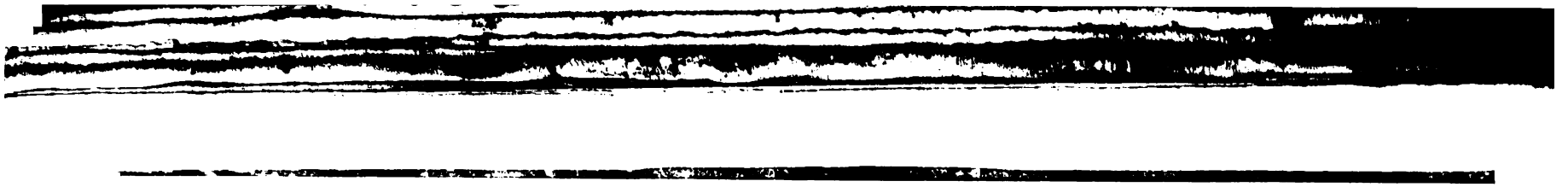
The Uncle, having previously charged himself with the education of this lad, had sent him for his lore to the Reverend John Evans, who had a prosperous Academy in Pullin's Row, in the sweet suburb of Islington. The Reverend John Evans had also an amazing capacity for authorship and compilation. After a careful journey through the Chiswick ledgers I am prepared to maintain that no other man in England had been, down to the year of our Lord 1827, directly responsible for so much printed matter as this tireless Unitarian, who could not be restrained in his love of ink. Sermons, guide-books, commentaries, lamentations, adulations, depreciations, harmless tales for youth, exhortations to the aged: there is no end to the printed utterances of this worthy man, who, in the midst of his scribbling, found time for pedagogy.

The reverend gentleman had been among the early patrons of Uncle Charles. His name appears as far back as 1793, in the Dean Street









accounts. So the printer, when he had a nephew to educate, returned the compliment of long custom and despatched the boy to Islington. In one of the minister's many books I find an advertisement which sets forth the attractions of a "Seminary for a limited number of Pupils, at 7 Pullin's Row, Islington, conducted by John Evans, LL.D., with proper assistants. Forty Guineas per annum." Inquiring parents and guardians are referred to Sir Astley Cooper, Bart., Sir John Perrin, Bart., Professor Leslie of the University of Edinburgh, and others; and they are assured by the editor of the "Monthly Review" that "Dr. Evans has it warmly at heart to train up his pupils to knowledge and virtue, to make them enlightened, pure, and useful members of the community." Evidently, Nephew Whittingham was safe in the keeping of a master so highly accredited.

The custom of apprenticeship then was to bind boys at the age of fourteen. But Nephew was withdrawn at fifteen from the academic groves of Islington, and put to learn "the art and mysteries of printing, bookbinding, and stationery" at the Uncle's place in Chiswick. When his apprenticeship was over he remained with his uncle until he was twenty-four, and then he went to Paris for a while, to acquire facility in French speech. He already read the language well. He carried

letters to the Didots, with whom he began a friendship which ended only in death.

Nephew's passport thus describes him at the age of twenty-four: "Height, six feet; hair, chestnut color; forehead, ordinary; eyes, blue; mouth, small; beard, chestnut; chin, round; countenance, frank; complexion, clear." The chin got square enough later on, or the zealous French *Chargé d'Affaires* in London was much in error when he filled up the imposing document.

As a lad Nephew Charles was hot-tempered; as a man he was brusque and severe. He was a disciplinarian in his family and in his printing-office. But he was a kind man, nevertheless, and just and charitable. His stern appearance was only the cloak for a nature which had many tender qualities. He believed that a man should not wear his heart upon his sleeve, and he carried that branch of his philosophy to an extreme of practice which had the effect of making him appear a harder person than he really was. He was most scrupulous in honor, and his word was always strictly fulfilled. For the minor graces of life he cared little. Dinners, and parties, and visits, and small-talk, and most pleasures, were in his view wasteful of time, or energy, or money. He was a man of very few words, but quick and accurate in his judgment of character. In advanced age, when he threw off the harness of business, and

retired to Surbiton, in Surrey, where he spent the last sixteen years of his life in happy retirement with his family, he abandoned the severe style which he had cultivated so long, and he was at pains to show his sons and daughters that he had never meant to be unkind, and that he feared his early training of them had been too harsh and rigid. He told how he had been led to believe in repression through an acquaintance he had formed during that early sojourn in France. His people, we have seen, were Roman Catholics—the uncle only excepted—and in Paris he had been much in the company of a Jesuit priest, who carefully nurtured in him a profound regard for the Order of Loyola. The discipline of that society fascinated him; and he thought that all human life could and should be ordered by resolute self-effacement. Perhaps he did not get the lesson aright, since during many subsequent years the self-effacement had to be practised by others, while he asserted his own will to the uttermost. When he changed all this later in life he freely acknowledged his mistake. But he remained a grave-mannered, serious-thinking man to the last. He was religious, but he got altogether away from the Roman Church while he was still young. For the rest of his life he used to say that the only formula of faith that he could tie to, if he tied to any, was expressed in Unitarianism. But he did not

trouble himself much about that, and he very rarely entered a place of worship. He detested being "preached at," especially if the person in the pulpit were his junior. He said that he could be as good a man outside of a church as inside one, and he was as good as his word. He lived a simple, earnest, honest, upright life, and the only fault of it was its severity.

Uncle and Nephew must have had a stiff time of it while their partnership lasted. They were strong-natured men, masterful and jealous of authority. Uncle was bound to have his own way, and Nephew was content, provided his way was not crossed. They were friendly enough; I believe that no quarrel ever stirred between them; but they were restive in partnership, and they held to the compact for four years only. Their bond was practically a verbal one, for although a deed of partnership was drawn, the Uncle could not be induced to sign it. But the agreement, while it lasted, was fairly kept on both sides, although Nephew said the effect was to place all authority in Uncle's hands.

One of the immediate results of the younger man's visit to Paris was the production of "Whittingham's French Classics," a dozen or more tasty little volumes, beginning with "Paul et Virginie" and ending with Voltaire's "Histoire de Pierre le Grand." The experiment was a success,

and the series was extended in after years, winning praise in France as well as in England. During the partnership, "Whittingham's Pocket Novels" appeared—neat little books in red-cloth covers. There were thirty-nine of these volumes, Miss Burney's "Evelina" being the first, and "Gil Blas," in two volumes, the last; the intermediate

A woodcut from "Knickerbocker's History of New York." Edition of 1824. Drawn by George Cruikshank. Engraved by William Hughes.

numbers ranging, according to the printer's list, from "Roderick Random" and "Humphrey Clinker" and "Tom Jones" to the "Mysteries of Udolpho" and Cooper's "Spy." Each book had a vignette designed by Harvey and engraved either by John Thompson or Thomas Williams.

An admirable edition, in post-octavo, of "Knickerbocker's History of New York," with a vignette

drawn by George Cruikshank and engraved by William Hughes, was printed in 1824. It seems that from 1819 to 1821 Uncle Whittingham was a partner with Hughes in an engraving business at 12 Staining Lane. Their sign read "Whittingham & Hughes, Engravers." The Knickerbocker, by the way, was published by Thomas Tegg, who was then flourishing in Cheapside.

Thomas Tegg was a diverting character, the model, it is said, for Hood's "Tommy Twigg," in the novel "Tylney Hall." And he was the father of a diverting son, whose notion of life was to drive through it in a fine carriage. One day this hopeful added to his already superfluous equipages a new fashion in curricles. When Thomas, his father, heard of this fresh extravagance he "cut off" the exquisite youth, and further commanded him to look for a rich wife, or, if no heiress would have him, to choose a working woman for his spouse, since some one must needs support him. The superior son scorned this counsel, and straightway took unto himself a wife who had no money, and whose lack of strength made work impossible. Then, I am told, did Thomas, the father, settle six hundred pounds a year upon the happy pair.

Nephew Charles had a great friend in John Thompson, who was engraving constantly under commission from Uncle Charles. John Thomp-

son removed from remote Peckham to the merrie ruralities of Islington in 1814, and afterward lived at Kensington, so that he might be within easier call of the Chiswick Press. Nephew often walked from Chiswick of a night to Thompson's home at Kensington, where he would sup with the admirable engraver and play chess with him till nearly midnight, when he would trudge off to his own lodgings at Hammersmith.

Pierce Egan's "Life of an Actor," dedicated to Edmund Kean, and containing Theodore Lane's spirited and curious colored plates and several cuts by Thompson, was printed for C. S. Arnold, of Tavistock Street, Covent Garden, who was already doing a good business with the Whittinghams. But in this year, 1825, nearly all the booksellers in town and country were buying the ten-volume Shakespeare which Singer had just edited for Whittingham, and for which the Rev. Charles Symmons, D. D., "late of Jesus College, Oxford," had written a life of the bard. Stothard, Corbould, and Harvey had drawn sixty designs for this edition, and John Thompson had engraved them. Even John Murray could no longer stand out against the demand for Chiswick books, so he bought many sets of this Shakespeare.

William Harrison Ainsworth went to Chiswick one day in December, 1827, and ordered three thousand copies of "A Christmas Box" to be

From the title-page of Pierce Egan's "Life of an Actor."
Edition of 1825.

printed and sent to a shop in Old Bond Street, where he had recently started in business as a publisher and bookseller. A few days later he sent in the manuscript of a "Life of Washington." The book does not appear to have been issued, but one hundred and fifty specimen pages were printed. Ainsworth was then in his twenty-third year. He had turned his back upon the dreary prospect of the law, with which his father, a solicitor, had vainly endeavored to lure him. He had tried authorship; had already, at the age of twenty, followed a budget of ballads and short tales with a novel ("Sir John Chiverton"), and now he brought his inexperience to the trade of publishing. To this rash excursion there could be but one end, and Ainsworth reached it speedily. Poorer and disappointed for his pains, he abandoned the business and went abroad, returning before he was thirty to write "Rookwood," the first of a long series of novels, which brought him notoriety and profit.

The Whittinghams, Uncle and Nephew, dissolved partnership in 1828, as I find by an advertisement in the "Gazette" in August of that year:

NOTICE is hereby given that the partnership named, or business carried on, by the undersigned Charles Whittingham the elder and Charles Whittingham the younger, of Chiswick, in the County of Middlesex, Printers, was this day dissolved by mutual consent. All

debts owing by or to the said partnership concern to be paid and received by the said Charles Whittingham the elder only, as witness our hands this 16th day of August, 1828.

Nephew went to London, and started a printing business there at No. 21 Took's Court, Chancery Lane. That he was still on friendly terms with his Uncle is proved by the fact that the latter made him a present of useless type and a couple of small presses which were out of repair, and stood in with him on the lease of the premises newly taken. But the Uncle had no interest in the town business, and he made no further ventures apart from his own press at Chiswick. In fact, he had sold the paper-stock factory five years before to a Mr. Nichols, and for the rest of his life he gave his attention wholly to the art of printing.

CHAPTER FOURTH

I FOLLOW the Uncle Whittingham's career to its close. What he did of importance during the dozen years of life that were left to him, though here concisely set down, had not less influence than his earlier efforts in making an art of the old trade of printing in England. The earliest in date of his famous illustrated books during that period was the first series of Northcote's "Fables," or, as the title runs, "One Hundred Fables, Original and Selected: by James Northcote, R. A., etc., etc. Embellished with Two Hundred and Eighty Engravings on Wood."

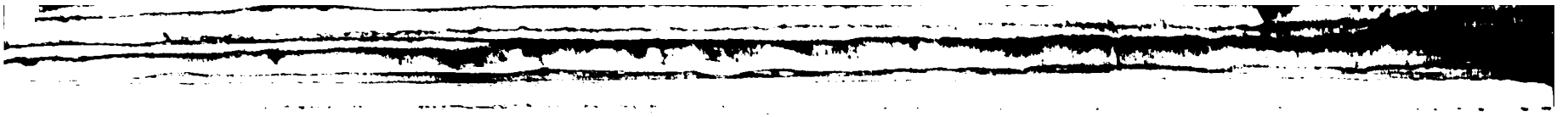
This was printed for George Lawford, of Saville Passage, in May, 1829. James Northcote,

R. A., who was then living in Argyle Place, had amused himself by writing many of the fables, and selecting the rest, as vehicles for his own illustration. William Harvey drew Northcote's designs on wood, and they were engraved by several of the best men of the time. There is none of

The Ant and the Caterpillar.
From Northcote's "Fables," edition of 1829.

John Thompson's work in the book, but Jackson, and Branston, and Thomas Williams appear, Jackson doing more of the work than any of the others. There is a complete list of the engravers at the end of the volume. A second series of Northcote's "Fables" was printed four years later for E. S. Rogers, of 27 Grosvenor Street.

Designed by William Harvey and engraved by John Thompson
for the Shakespeare of 1827.

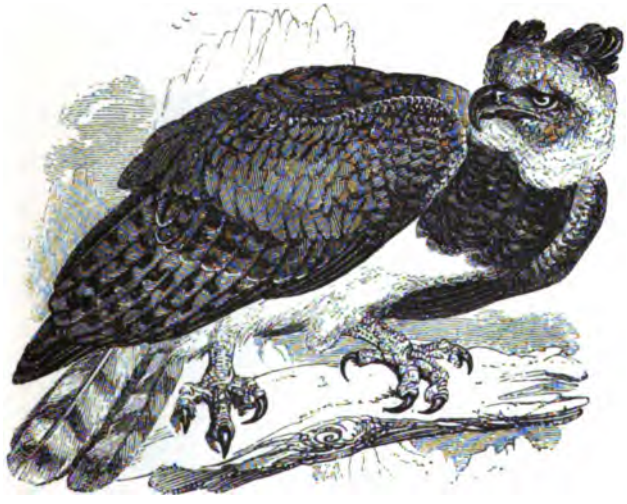


There were three thousand copies of this second series, and an extra fifty on India paper. The Northcote books take a high place among the masterpieces of the Uncle Whittingham, and with them rank the volumes that were made in 1829 for the engravers Branston & Wright, who were then at 4 New London Street. There were three of these books. The first gave an account of the Royal Menagerie at the Tower of London. The work is rich in engravings, and with respect to these, as well as to the beauty of the ink, and the general arrangement of the letter-press, it is the most admirable specimen of printing that Whittingham had produced up to that time, and I doubt if it has ever been surpassed. The numerous drawings are Harvey's, and the blocks bear the initials of Branston & Wright, although I think that other engravers must have been employed on some of the cuts. The companion books to "The Tower Menagerie" were two volumes describing the quadrupeds and birds at the Zoölogical Gardens. Again the drawings are Harvey's, but Branston & Wright acknowledge the assistance of other engravers. Charles Tilt, of Fleet Street, published the zoölogical books. In 1831 Whittingham produced them in a single volume on India paper. Could Bewick's blocks have had this perfect printing, his art would have been advantaged greatly. As it is, the Tower and

The Great Sea-Eagle.

The Pine Marten.
From "The Gardens and Menagerie of the Zoölogical Society."
Edition of 1831.

The Jaguar.
From "The Tower Menagerie."



The Harpy Eagle.
From "The Gardens and Menagerie of the Zoölogical Society."
Edition of 1831.

The Snowy Owl.

The Red Lemur.
From "The Gardens and Menagerie of the Zoölogical Society."
Edition of 1831.

the zoölogical books are filled with engravings which are for the most part equal to Bewick's best. The men who made them were trained in Bewick's school, and some of them by the master himself. From first to last a hundred wood-engravers and many painters, comprising, one must think, all, or nearly all, the Englishmen who had won good repute in their art during the first thirty or forty years of the nineteenth century, were commissioned by the elder Whittingham to embellish the books of the Chiswick Press. Armitage, John Byfield, Cattermole, Derby, Drummond, Finden, Goodall, Hughes, Humphreys, Landells, the three Landseers, Linton, Nesbit, Seymour, Smirke, Scheffer, Stanfield, Westall, Willement, might be named beside those already mentioned.

Buffon's illustrated "Natural History," in four volumes, and Trimmer's, in two, were printed for Tegg. John Sharpe meanwhile was active. He started, about midsummer, 1829, an ambitious publication called "Sharpe's London Magazine." But all account of this periodical suddenly ceases in the ledgers, and I suppose the magazine must be numbered among Sharpe's failures. For this good publisher, though he had the faculty of enterprise, had but the vaguest notions of business. He was always going to the elder Whittingham with schemes, most of which the printer persuaded

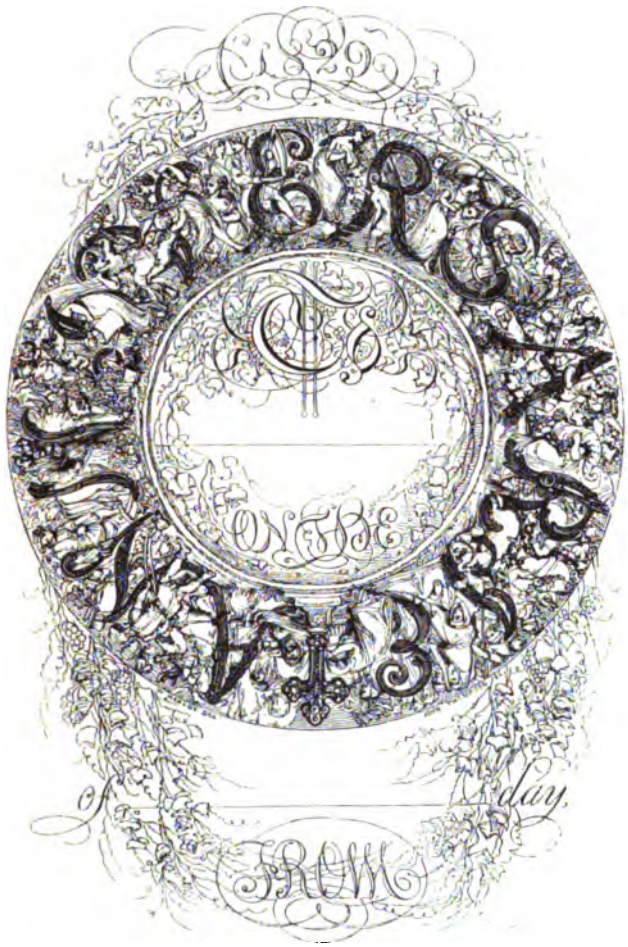
him to drop. But Sharpe's fancy was speculative. He was usually deep in more projects than he could handle wisely, and he had an eccentric way of dropping a good plan as soon as he engaged himself in it, and then taking up another. His ideas were excellent, but he rarely stuck to them long enough to attain success. Therefore it is not surprising to find him at the close of 1829 so heavily involved that his affairs are placed in the hands of assignees. But this little circumstance in no way daunted him. Having made a failure of publishing other people's books, he compiled a book of his own. This was "Sharpe's British Peerage," brought out in June, 1831, the cost being divided in shares between Sharpe himself, Hatchard & Son, Simpkin & Marshall, and J. Andrews. This production was so well received that it had the effect of bringing the Burkes to Chiswick, and in 1833 their publisher, Henry Colborn, of Great Marlborough Street, had a portion of "Burke's Peerage" put in type there, and this task led the way to a variety of similar books on the "Peerage," "The Landed Gentry," "The Commoners," and the like.

Several of Peter Parley's tales kept the Chiswick Press men busy season after season, and these popular little books sometimes held Thompson's illustrations. I note among other curiosities of the ledgers that five hundred copies of the

"Odes of Pindar" were printed in September, 1833, for the Rev. H. F. Cary of the British Museum. This, I believe, was the last of Cary's celebrated translations. After the turn of the year Chapman & Hall ordered one thousand copies of a work called "Chatto on Fly Fishing."

Some of the Uncle's oldest customers combined their forces about this time. Suttaby took over the business of John Poole. Both firms had dealt with Whittingham from very nearly the earliest days of his adventure in business. Poole was a mighty publisher of handbooks, manuals, diaries, pocket-books, "engagement reminders," and the like. Year after year the indefatigable Poole published a prodigious number of these things, and Suttaby was well abreast of him in the race. That was a golden time for the hardy annuals of the publishers, and from the amazing crop Whittingham reaped a fair harvest. Year after year the old annuals continued, and braces of new ones were added to the collection. There were "Gentlemen's Pocket-books," "Ladies' Albums," "Polite Assistants," "Elegant Selections," and so on, without end. The demand for this form of booklet was at once popular and fashionable. Whittingham, of course, produced the things with dainty taste. A considerable part of his best workmanship is found in those old-fashioned annuals that are now forgotten.

"The Anniversary" of 1829.



"The Anniversary" of 1829.

I select "Puckle's Club," the edition of 1834, as a volume that should not be overlooked by collectors of Whittingham books. This is not the original edition of Puckle, for that was printed in 1817. Indeed, the first edition of the Puckle book (with woodcuts) is not a Whittingham production, as Mr. W. J. Linton seems to suppose on page 175 of his monumental work on engraving. Not only is there no record of the Puckle in the Whittingham accounts previous to 1834, but it is distinctly stated in the preface to the issue of the latter year that the earlier attempt had been so badly done, especially with regard to the block impressions, that when the time came to revive the work, it was given to Whittingham.

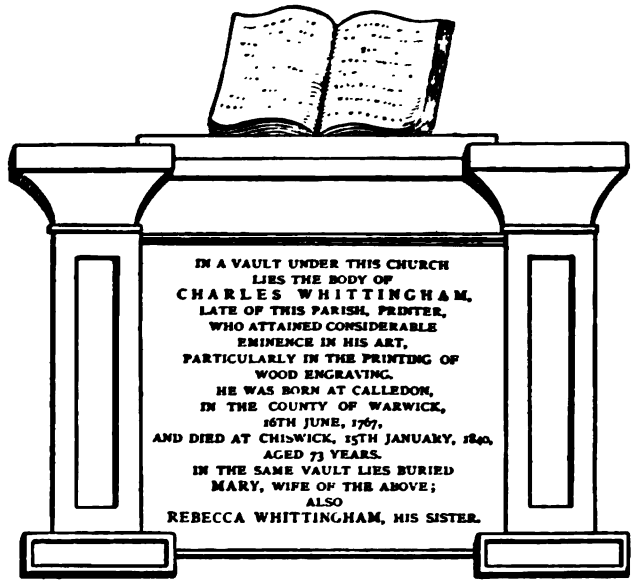
The younger Whittingham, at Took's Court, was sometimes called upon to help the elder in managing the rush of work which came to Chiswick. Sometimes Nephew would go out to the press at Thames-side, and sometimes in London he would print for Uncle. Early in 1838 Uncle's health began to fail, and in June the old man had a final settlement with Nephew, who then came practically into the control at Chiswick, Uncle still holding interest, but retiring from activity in order to nurse what was left to him of life. On the 5th of January, 1840, Whittingham Uncle died at the age of seventy-three, and he was buried in

Envioso.

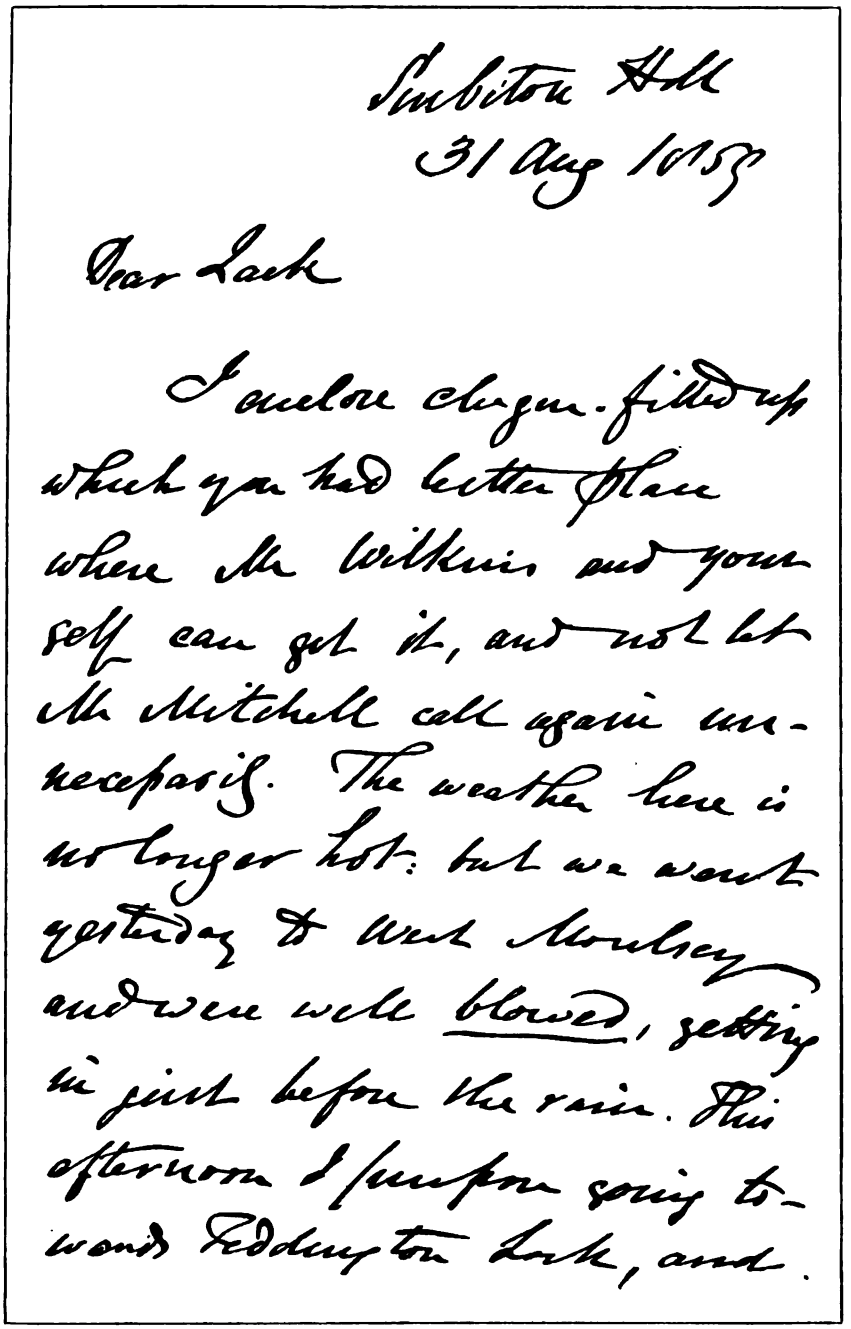
Moroso.

From "Puckle's Club." Edition of 1834.

the old church at Chiswick, where you can see a tablet with this inscription:


IN A VAULT UNDER THIS CHURCH
LIES THE BODY OF
CHARLES WHITTINGHAM,
LATE OF THIS PARISH, PRINTER,
WHO ATTAINED CONSIDERABLE
EMINENCE IN HIS ART,
PARTICULARLY IN THE PRINTING OF
WOOD ENGRAVING.
HE WAS BORN AT CALLEDON,
IN THE COUNTY OF WARWICK,
16TH JUNE, 1767,
AND DIED AT CHISWICK, 15TH JANUARY, 1840,
AGED 73 YEARS.
IN THE SAME VAULT LIES BURIED
MARY, WIFE OF THE ABOVE;
ALSO
REBECCA WHITTINGHAM, HIS SISTER.

In his will the Uncle left two thousand pounds to the Stationers' Company for printers' pensions —his own workmen, or their widows, to have the preference. He also left to the Printers' Pension Society (now the Printers' Pension, Almshouse, and Orphan Asylum Corporation) a legacy which, with its augmentations, is now merged in "The Charles Whittinghams (Uncle and Nephew) Memorial Pension." Other money he bequeathed to the poor of Chiswick, for he was a man of kindly heart.



Sunbiton Hill
31 Aug 1859

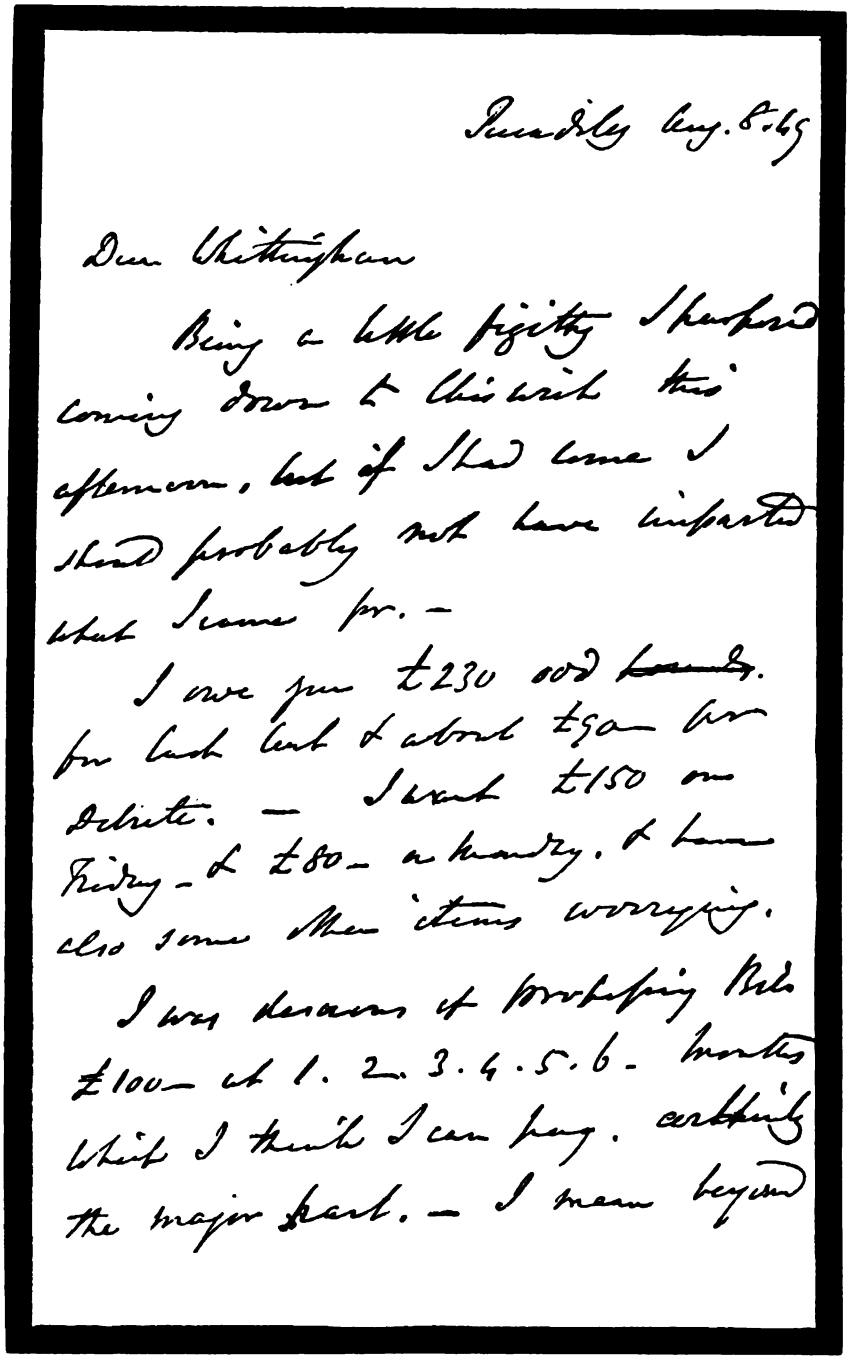
Dear Jack

I enclose cheque filled up which you had better place where Mr Wilkins and your self can get it, and not let Mr Mitchell call again unnecessarily. The weather here is no longer hot: but we went yesterday & last Monday and were well blowed, getting in just before the rain. This afternoon I/Jumpson going towards Teddington Lock, and.

Facsimile of Autograph Note of Nephew Whittingham.

and view the state of Denmark
I intend to try the long fields
as soon as I can, but until then
you can try to find the Homework
before long.

Yours very affy
C. Whittingham



Sunday Aug. 8. 65

Dear Whittingham

Being a little tipsy I hesitated coming down to Chiswick this afternoon, but if I had come I should probably not have imparted what I came for. —

I owe you £230 odd ~~pounds~~. for back rent & about £50 for debits. — I sent £150 on Friday — & £80 — a month. & have also some other items worrying.

I was desirous of working Rule £100 — at 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. months which I think I can pay. certainly the major part. — I mean beyond

Facsimile of Autograph Note of Pickering.

my usual payments to you, thank
I always endeavour to keep right
Now not having the courage to
come myself I have sent my
Dog, that you might have the
opportunity of saying "No".

Ever Yours

W Pickering

Rev. C Chittenden

P.S. I wish my Cheques &c. to form
part of this transaction, if you
can with propriety do it.

Dover Street
Jan. 12th 1855.

Dear Sir,

I think it right to inform you that I have, for various reasons, given up all idea of purchasing the copyright, &c of the Aldine Poets. I remain, dear Sir, very truly yours

Edw? Moxon.

C. Whittingham, Esq.

Facsimile of a Note from Edward Moxon

Frontispiece to "Cupid and Psyche," 1820.

From title-page to "Cupid and Psyche."

Engraved by John Thompson, after Sir Edwin Landseer, R. A.

"The Return of the Chase."
Engraved by John Thompson, after Sir Edwin Landseer, R. A.
From Rogers' "Italy." Edition of 1839.

CHAPTER FIFTH

GREAT changes have come upon Took's Court with the run of years, but some of the old houses that the Nephew saw when he went there in 1828, at the conclusion of the Chiswick partnership, still stand on the eastern side, so that we can easily imagine the appearance of the place when the nineteenth century was young. It contained good old three-story red-brick houses which, when Nephew went there, were not altogether given up to purposes of trade and the law. In a map dated 1740 "Tuke's Court" is shown extending northward from "Cursitor Alley" and then turning sharply to the east and bringing up in Castle Yard, which gets into Holborn, on the City side of Staples

Inn. "Tuke's Court" long ago became "Took's Court," and "Cursitor Alley" became Cursitor Street, known to enthusiasts the world over as a byway made famous by Charles Dickens. One of the old buildings in the court acquired fame as the "Sponging House" in which Richard Brinsley Sheridan was for a time immured for debt. Sloman's notorious sponging-house, or private prison, where, as Thackeray tells us, Captain Crawley languished, and where Disraeli's Captain Armine was a temporary guest, was close by in Cursitor Street.

At No. 21 Took's Court, before the Nephew came, one John M'Creery had a printing-office which he had leased of Richard Valpy, who had formerly been a printer there, and who had manufactured in the house the well-known hundred-volume edition of "Valpy's Classics." In one hundred years Number Twenty-One had a dozen tenants and almost as many owners. Charles Whittingham, the Nephew, took the place for twenty-one years from June, 1828. He started in a small way, the Uncle bearing with him the responsibilities of the lease for security's sake. I do not find that Nephew had any money from his relative, or that he even asked for it. The Caslons, who were then, as they are now, leading type-founders of London, supplied him with an outfit on long credit, and offered to advance him capital, as

their house had done nearly forty years earlier for the first Charles when the latter came up to town from his apprenticeship at Coventry. But Nephew did not find it necessary to accept the loan.

The first book printed by Charles the younger, after getting into business for himself, was a dry little thing, unpretentious enough, and absolutely without interest. It was called "A Sunday Book," and was printed for Bowdery & Kirby, and made in two volumes. Although the imprint bears the date of 1829, the book was printed by the end of November, 1828. Soon after the establishment of his business at Took's Court, Whittingham the Nephew made the acquaintance of one Basil Montagu, who was then living in Bedford Square, and who ordered from the new press one hundred and fifty copies of a small book, or pamphlet, called "Letters to Mr. Sugden." It was through this acquaintance that the younger Whittingham came to know William Pickering, with whom his own name was to be so intimately associated in the production of beautiful editions. The two men, Whittingham and Pickering, speedily became friends, and they remained on terms of the greatest intimacy as long as life lasted.

William Pickering was one of the best-known men in the London book-trade of his day. He was, in his way, a remarkable man, if we are to take the word of folk who know fine books when

they see them. He was one of the very first publishers of his century to make the production of fine editions a particular branch of enterprise, and it was through him that by far the greater part of the best work of Whittingham Nephew was put before the world. Pickering had started in business in 1821 as a seller of old books, and he was a rare merchant in that line. In a little shop at 31 Lincoln's Inn Fields he established what he was pleased to call, and no doubt called with truth, a most distinguished connection. His patrons had high places and long purses, and he found it expedient to please them with "elegant reprints of the best literature." His taste for old books not unnaturally produced a kindred taste for the reproduction of them. He had a notion that if an old author were a good one he deserved to be dressed well, and he made it the particular business of his life to do this justice to the ancient stock. In Charles Whittingham the Second he found his coadjutor, and any collector will bear witness to the judgment of this incomparable pair. As Whittingham Uncle and John Sharpe had worked together, so did Whittingham Nephew and William Pickering form an alliance which enriched the world of books.

Nephew's associate, Pickering, was an abler man than Uncle's associate, Sharpe. He was, moreover, a person of some scholarship, as well

as good judgment, of excellent taste as well as business courage, and he had, into the bargain, some influential patrons who would always back him in any worthy venture, if help were needed. So it befell that, during the next quarter of a century, Nephew Whittingham made for William Pickering books which, without doubt, both in character and in beauty, composed the most distinctive list that any English printers or publishers had up to that time been jointly identified withal.

These alliances of the Uncle and the Nephew did little to endow the world with first editions, but they adorned it with most admirable reprints. The function of our printers was not to produce new literature, but to set forth the old in beauty. The best literature, whether in our own time or in that elder one, seldom makes its first appearance in fine clothes. It earns this raiment after a generation or so, by which time its authors have gone the way of all flesh, or their copyrights have expired.

Pickering was living and vending at No. 57 Chancery Lane, whither he had removed in 1825, when Nephew Whittingham set up his presses in Took's Court, hard by. To the bookseller entered Basil Montagu, one June day in 1829, presenting, with the gusto of a discoverer, "the most accomplished printer in the town." The book-

seller, a short, fat man, addicted to maroon waistcoats whose elaborate embroideries were not entirely concealed by the snuff which descended upon them in frequent showers, greeted his new acquaintance with the courtesy demanded by the occasion, and then fell to talking of title-pages. The printer had ideas worth cultivating, and the bookseller invited him to call again. Within three days the printer called. He saw what Pickering's plans were, and he threw out a hint or two concerning them. The bookseller was delighted. He had found a kindred spirit. He bade his new printer furnish him with an edition of the "Bijou, or Annual of Literature and the Arts," and then with an edition of Walton's "Angler," and then with the "Canterbury Tales," and then with a set of "Bacon's Works." These were followed by "The Works of George Peele:[1] collected and edited, with some account of his life and writings, by the Rev. Alexander Dyce, B. A.," an edition of two volumes, followed by a third. This much accomplished, Nephew Whittingham was high in the favor of the man who was to become not only his best customer but his best friend.

The Whittingham of Took's Court did not seek fame as a printer of illustrated books. It may have been that he thought it bad policy to attempt competition in the line for which his uncle was

[1] See page 245 for title-page of the "Works of George Peele."

Frontispiece to Singer's Shakespeare of 1827.
Designed by William Harvey.
Engraved by John Thompson.

celebrated; at all events, he was politic enough to know that he would surely find success by following out a course which he could make unmistakably his own. He aimed at distinction not only in the manner of his printing, but also in the matter of it. He desired that his press should be associated with the great names of English literature. With this object in view he held many consultations with Pickering. Every day these two cronies met. Nephew Whittingham would leave his office in Took's Court and call for Pickering at the book-shop in Chancery Lane. Then the zealous pair would go for middle-day dinner to the Crown Coffee House, in Holborn, opposite Chancery Lane, and talk of book projects and new fancies in paper and binding.

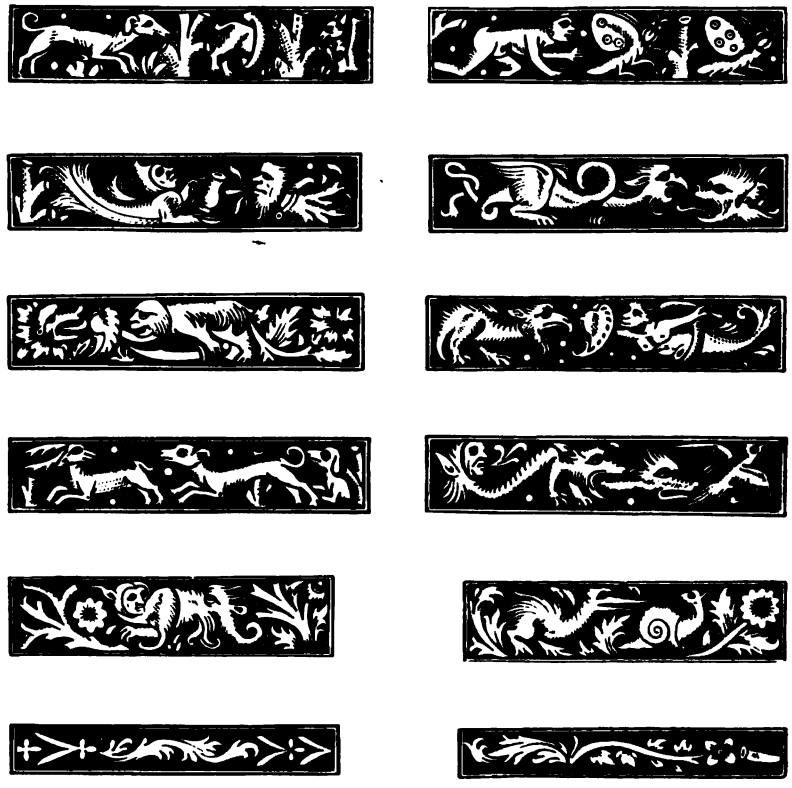
Although illustrated books were not the special features of the younger Whittingham's work, there were, nevertheless, some picture-prints produced by him that one cannot pass without attention. In May, 1830, George Cruikshank, who was then living at Amwell Street, in Pentonville, had many of his drawings printed at Took's Court. I do not now identify them, for only the blocks were struck, and the books were printed elsewhere. But William Kidd, a publisher at 6 Old Bond Street, ordered from Whittingham several little books illustrated by Robert Cruikshank. One of these was a comic poem by W. T. Mon-

Drawn by Robert Cruikshank. Engraved by Mosses.

From "Steamers *v.* Stages."
Drawn by Robert Cruikshank. Engraved by Bonner, 1830.

crieff, and it was called the "March of Intellect." It was illustrated, so the advertisement reads, "by eight splendid engravings on wood." There was no splendor in these engravings, but it is too late in the day to quarrel with the adjectives of the canny publisher. Half a dozen little books of humorous poetry, with Robert Cruikshank's drawings, soon followed this, and they were presently collected in single volumes called "Cruikshank's Comic Album." The first mention that I find in the Took's Court accounts of "Cruikshank's Comic Album" is in 1831, when Kidd had 500 copies printed. This publisher had many guide-books printed by Whittingham; some of them being of a comic sort and abounding with Cruikshank's cuts. And then there came, in 1833, "Cruikshank's Wild Craft," and "Cruikshank's New Police." Cruikshank, then living in Myddleton Terrace, negotiated with Whittingham, in 1834, for the production of his "Comic Almanack." The work appeared in 1835, and in each of the eighteen succeeding years. Its illustrations during that time numbered about two thousand woodcuts and steel engravings. Thackeray, Albert Smith, and Tom Hood wrote for the "Almanack"; Cruikshank, Hine, and Landells made most of the drawings; Charles Tilt published the affair, and Whittingham printed it, with the exception of the steel plates.

Basil Montagu, having prepared the catalogue of a "Barrister's Library" and several minor things which were printed in small editions by



From old books. Engraved by Mary Byfield.

Whittingham, is found in 1835 holding some official position in the Court of Bankruptcy, where he diverts himself by preparing a work called

Border designed by J. A. Montagu.
Used for the title-page of Montagu's "Heraldry,"
published by Pickering.
This top portion (birds drinking) was subsequently used as a
headpiece in many of Pickering's and Whittingham's books.

From old books. Engraved by Mary Byfield.

"Thoughts of Divines and Philosophers." John Murray now unbends, and extends his distinguished patronage to the office in Took's Court, where a part of Barrow's "Iceland" is composed, and several splendid impressions are struck for it from ten woodcuts.

The learned Antonio Panizzi was, in 1837, appointed "Keeper of Printed Books" at the British Museum. For this celebrated librarian Nephew Whittingham printed in successive years a number of small but important works. Edward Moxon, the husband of Charles Lamb's adopted daughter, Emma Isola, was then well established at his house in Dover Street, and publishing there the works of the Banker Bard, who kept a businesslike watch upon the manufacture of his books. This shrewd supervision brought Samuel Rogers himself to Took's Court, where the "Notes" to his "Italy" were on the press in 1843. Rogers was so well satisfied with the result that for the remainder of his life he intrusted Whittingham with his printing. Although Moxon was the publisher, the printing account was against Rogers, who regularly drew his own checks for the amount. Rogers would drive up to Took's Court for his proof-sheets, and when he had corrected them at St. James' Place he would drive again to the printing-office, where, as the compositors said, "he stirred up everybody with a long stick."

A Shepherd.
Engraved by John Thompson, after Eastlake.

Drawn by Thomas Stothard, R. A.
From Rogers' "Italy." Edition of 1838.

Galileo's Villa.
Engraved by John Thompson, after
Sir A. W. Callcott, R. A.

Thrasymene.
Engraved by John Thompson, after Sir A. W. Callcott, R. A.

Stothard's vignettes for Rogers' "Poems."

Among the changes in the publishing world about this time was the formation of a partnership between Charles Tilt and David Bogue, at the former's shop in Fleet Street. About this time, too, five hundred copies of "Prince Albert's Poems," whatever they may have been, were printed for Henry Colburn. John and John Bernard Burke, then in Sloane Street, persuaded Whittingham to print their armorial, heraldic, and peerage publications. Debrett's "Peerage and Baronetage" was brought to Took's Court by Pickering in 1840.

Pickering, in 1841, took premises at 177 Piccadilly. He also kept the Chancery Lane place, but only for a year or two after the West End shop was opened. Going westward, the worthy book-merchant tried a little heraldry on his own account. He adapted Aldus' dolphin and anchor for his sign-piece, and, as if this were not enough, he added a pike and ring. From time to time he selected other devices, but his favorites were these two, as his title-pages indicate. Whittingham meanwhile had acquired some celebrity as a printer of coats-of-arms, this specialty coming about, no doubt, through his

An early device of Pickering.

work on the various "Peerages," and on Drummond's "Noble Families," a privately printed book of which only four copies were made.

In rummaging among the dusty and long-closed boxes of Nephew Whittingham, I find the volume which, more than any other, caused a general change in the fashion of English book-type. When Nephew Charles began business on his own account, and for sixteen years thereafter, he used the stock types of the period. But in 1844 he persuaded Henry Caslon to revive the "old-faced Roman" types which were invented by Nicolas Jenson, a pupil of Gutenberg, and copied in the sixteenth century by Claude Garamond, the French engraver and type-founder. This type had been included in the patterns of that William Caslon who established the famous English type-founding house in 1720, and who died in 1766. Popular taste in typography was fickle in those days. Nay, for half a century or so Caslon's old Roman types lay unused and forgotten. Nephew Whittingham determined to revive their vogue, and he went to a deal of expense in the matter. Caslon and his partner were skeptical, but of course they supplied what was wanted. Pickering zealously seconded Nephew Whittingham's project, and, indeed, put it to the trial at once by ordering an Eton prize-book, "Juvenalis Satira," in quarto form, printed in old-face great

primer, with red type-borders and ornaments. But there were many delays in the production of the book. The establishment of Caslon was ransacked for punches and matrices, and the missing ones had to be replaced; the paper-makers could not, or would not, do what was required of them at the proper time; and as Whittingham, not less than Pickering, was prodigiously particular concerning the turn of a hair in this venture, the delay was long and vexing.

Longman, meanwhile, had engaged Whittingham to reprint "The Diary of Lady Willoughby," a novel of seventeenth-century life. The first edition of this book had come from another printing-house, and it had not been a success. Mr., afterward Sir, Henry Cole, subsequently Director of the Science and Art Department at the South Kensington Museum, learned of the Juvenal venture, and suggested to the Longmans the preparation of a new edition of the Willoughby, re-written in old-style phrases, printed with "old-face" type specially designed, and upon old-style paper, bound in the fashion of two centuries before. He also urged the publishers to give Whittingham a free hand in the production of the book. The suggestion was adopted in part only, but the new attempt was sufficient for success. Whittingham used the old-face great primer for the Willoughby. The paper, however, though good enough in qual-

So much of the *DIARY* of

LADY WILLOUGHBY

as relates to her *Domeſtic Hiſtory*,

& to the Eventful Period of the

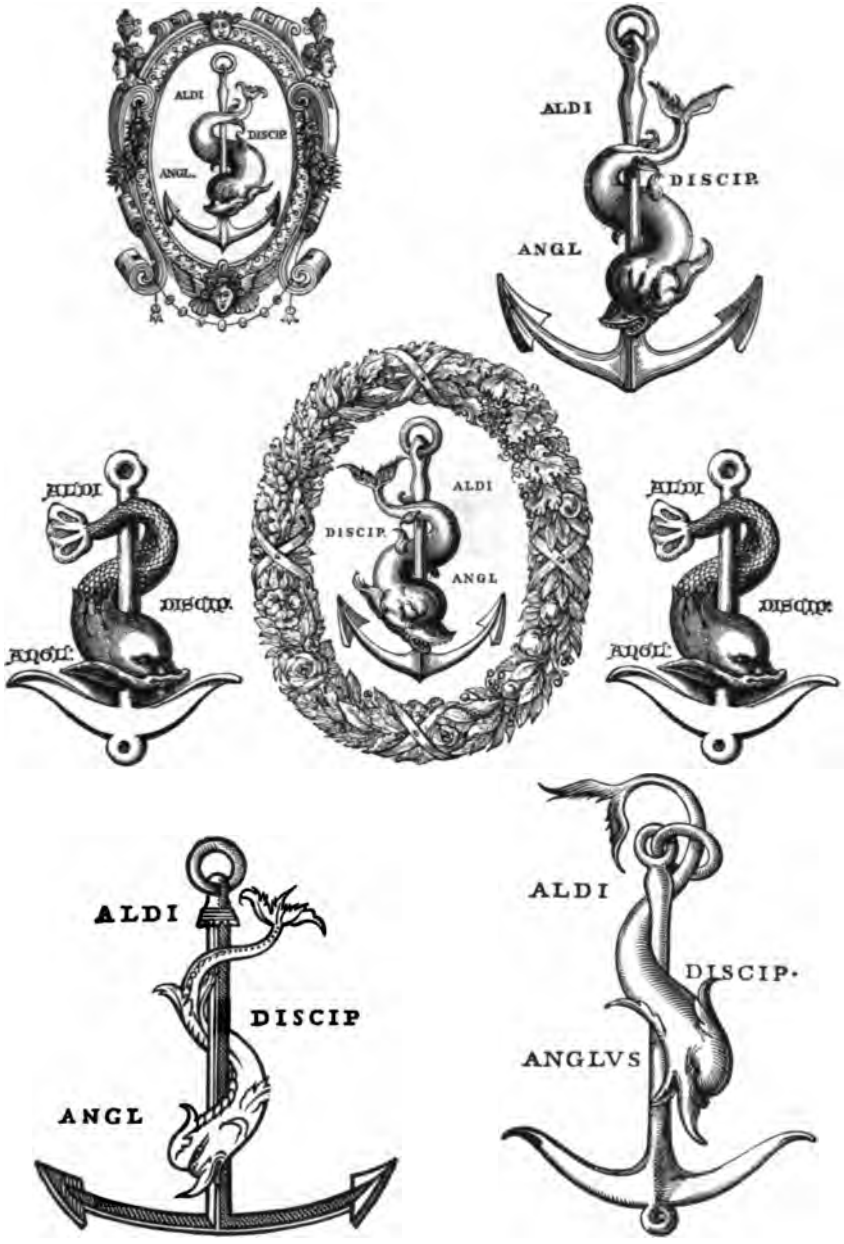
Reign of CHARLES

the Firſt.

Imprinted for LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, & LONGMANS, *Paternoſter Row*, over againſt *Warwick Lane*, in the City of London. 1844.

ity, was a rather poor mechanical imitation of seventeenth-century hand-made stuff, and whatever effect its regular, horizontal rucks may or may not have had upon the sight of the generation of 1844, it is exceedingly distressing to eyes of later date. Whittingham was for having hand-made paper, and for imitating in the most artistic way the best work of the period to which the book related. But the publishers would not follow him so far as that, although they did permit his daughter Charlotte to change the author's spelling and phrasing from the modern to the old style. In these circumstances the book made a success, and within the last fifty years it has been several times reprinted. The important fact is that Longman's Willoughby came out some months before Pickering's Juvenal, and had the effect of setting the fashion for old-face types.

Two printing establishments were kept up by Nephew Whittingham for about twelve years after the Uncle's death: the one at Took's Court and the other at Chiswick. From January in 1840, when the Uncle died, the entire Whittingham business passed into the possession of the Nephew, so that, whether books were printed at Took's Court or at College House on that Thames-side Mall, they were "Chiswick Press" books. The years 1843 and 1844 were of considerable importance in the annals of this press, and of every other, for they



Aldine Anchors of Pickering. Engraved by Mary Byfield. After Mr. Pickering's death, Charles Whittingham added the Anchor and Dolphin to the Lion in his monogram.

signalized the adoption of that style in book-printing which has ever since ruled in England and America. For our modern manner in printer's lettering has a very old-fashioned basis, like many other good things. We have gone back not merely to John Baskerville's ideas, but almost to Gutenberg's, and it is a pity that the generations behind us ever got away from them. But in the hundred years that ended somewhere in the middle of the nineteenth century, to say nothing of a long stretch of previous time, fancies like Baskerville's had been thought too fine and frivolous for the robust English taste. Indeed, it is on record that the publishers and the public preferred the heavier and grosser styles of lettering. This ponderous bad taste was conquered only after many years of effort on the part of Nephew Whittingham of the Chiswick Press.

Some of the very finest specimens of the second Whittingham's craftsmanship are to be found in Henry Shaw's books. Henry Shaw, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, was a very stout, broad-built man, with a fair complexion, a round face, a quick temper, indomitable pluck, and an unbreakable passion for beautiful books. In the gratification of this love he brought forth sumptuous octavos, quartos, and folios which were marvels of research and beauty. I dare not say how many there were, but I have seen eight of them.

In 1833 Whittingham printed for Shaw a volume called "Illuminated Ornaments, Selected from Manuscripts and Early Printed Books from the Sixth to the Seventeenth Centuries." Its pages measured fourteen and a half inches by ten inches. Sir Frederic Madden, Assistant Keeper of the Manuscripts at the British Museum, wrote the descriptive text, while Shaw, who was a rare artist in his way, drew, engraved, and colored many of the illustrations. Whittingham, however, did not print the illustrations for this book. He never printed plate-engravings. He used wood blocks alone for his pictorial effects.

There was no block color-printing at the Chiswick Press, save in the way of red and black titles, headpieces, and borders, until 1840, when Whittingham began to set up Shaw's "Elizabethan Architecture," which appeared two years later. This contains Whittingham's first specimens of color-printing from the block, and the best of that early lot is the title-page, which, in green, red, black, blue, and light yellow, reproduces "an old binding in the possession of George Lucy Esq: of Charlecote, Warwickshire." Encouraged by the success of this experiment, Mr. Shaw resolved that for the future his books should be printed in colors. He had hitherto used plates, and had colored the impressions by hand. This was a tedious process, yet the projector ad-

hered to it for seven years, and then gave up through sheer fatigue, adopting Nephew Whittingham's suggestion that the colors should be applied directly from wood blocks. This was a bold experiment for that time, in England at any rate. Shaw yielded, and the result delighted him. He produced in 1843 his work on "Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages, From the Seventh to the Seventeenth Centuries." This was at first published in parts. Then a volume on large paper was issued, and this contains some of the most exquisite work that has been done in the history of printing. Two years later came "The Alphabets, Numerals, and Devices of the Middle Ages," and in 1851 "The Decorative Arts, Ecclesiastical and Civil, of the Middle Ages." Although these three volumes contain some plate and lithographic work done by outsiders, they show also the highest reach of Whittingham's achievement in block color-printing.

But Shaw was not a rich man; his books were very costly to produce, and his patrons were few. The taste for the beautiful work which he employed Whittingham to turn out was then in its infancy. The period in which he strove was not an esthetic one. Never was there an uglier age, unless it were the age of primitive man. People dressed hideously, built ugly houses, and filled them with ungainly furniture. There was no great

demand for beauty. For that reason Henry Shaw had to educate his patrons, and he found this a very costly business. He slighted nothing, and we may be sure that Whittingham permitted no branch of his own work to be passed over lightly. The expense of producing the books was so great that after the cost of advertising—and even in those days it was necessary to make a great cry for the sake of a little wool—the proceeds left but a trifling remuneration for Mr. Shaw. Nevertheless, that worthy man was true to his colors. So was Nephew Charles, who mixed and ground them on marble slabs, and who was at infinite pains to get them to proper consistency and shade. The process was tedious, but its result was delightful. No other establishment that I know of ever printed in solid color in the fashion of the plates in Shaw's books. Imitation was out of the question, unless rival printers cared more for fame than for profit. The undertaking proved too much for Shaw to carry; he abandoned the color work in 1846, and after that printed his illustrations in sepia, which revealed even more completely the exquisite delicacy of the wood blocks.

Whittingham's experiments in color-printing attracted the notice of Henry Cole, with the result that a happy compact was made between three men to whom all English-speaking children, the

world over, who have been born since that time, owe their freedom from the bondage of the dismal literature which had so long done a depressing duty as "books for the young." The three regenerators of juvenile publications were Cole ("Felix Summerly"), who wrote the "Felix Summerly Guides to the National Gallery," and the "Felix Summerly Books" for boys and girls; Charles Whittingham, who printed them, and Joseph Cundall, who published them. When the Summerly story-books appeared, there was an end to the melancholy goody-goodyism, the stilted phrases, the affectation of piety, and the solemn ignorance of human nature which characterized what were strangely called "children's books" for something like a century before. The ancient turgidity went down as "Felix Summerly" came up with his healthy nonsense and his jolly jingles, his brightness and cheerfulness and wholesome fun. And then Charles Whittingham printed the things in a way that at once delighted the youngsters and their elders. There were pretty bindings, graceful ornaments to the chapters, and admirable lithographed cartoons. For the first time children had books that really pleased them, that really suited them, and that were as handsomely done as any *éditions de luxe* that had previously, or that have even subsequently, been manufactured for the parents. We are very proud nowa-

days of our "children's books," and especially of the art quality in them; and we have a way of flattering ourselves that it is only within the last ten or dozen years that we have learned how to write and how to print them. But if we turn back to "Felix Summerly's" books of half a century ago, we shall see at a glance that we are much indebted to Sir Henry Cole, to Cundall, and to Charles Whittingham. There is before me a most attractive title-page printed in red and blue and yellow, with a border choicely designed, and a legend in the old-faced type which, thanks to Whittingham, was just coming in, and as I look at it I wonder how often the design and style have been borrowed, and how many persons who flatter themselves about book-productions in our days of grace are aware of the exquisite work that was done at the Chiswick Press when our century had gone but a little way into its fourth decade.

Besides the "Summerlys," there were the "Myrtle Books," which Cundall also published. The lithographed pictures in the Summerlys and Myrtles were not furnished by Whittingham. Lithography was not in his line. I believe that some of the pictures were colored by hand. Anyhow, they were the delight of the small fry. The first book that I can remember handling as a child was "Harriet Myrtle's Story Book of Country Scenes." It had for a frontispiece a delightful,

soft-colored print called "The Dog-kennel," depicting an old carpenter, Goodman Dove, chalking the outline of a kennel on his workshop door, to the puzzled delight of a little girl who had been brought to the good man by her nurse. The Myrtle books, like the Summerlys, were very popular in England. The one that I remember had found its way far across the seas, and was turned by my chubby fingers some twenty odd years after Charles Whittingham had printed it. Trifles make deep impressions on a youngster's mind. I recall having thought that the colored prints in "Myrtle's Story Book" must have been the greatest pictures that ever were made. Old Goodman Dove was my choice familiar friend; and then there was little Mary with her chicks, in the print called "Partlett's Family"; and there was the Savoyard with his prodigious hat, and his pipe and drum and dancing dolls. And then there was the pleasure of reading the big, plain letters in which the simple tales were told, the reading being all the easier because the letters were so generous. The book disappeared when I was a brawling boy, but its pictures were seen for long afterward through such a fog before my mind's eye that I finally wondered whether the tomelet had really existed, or whether I had dreamed it. But in delving among the Whittinghams' old books, I came upon a copy of the little

Myrtle volume nestling within a batch of Summerlys. It was like meeting one's oldest friend after an inordinate separation. On examination I was not ashamed of my juvenile opinion. To be sure, the pictures do not now appear to be the greatest that ever were produced, but they certainly have considerable merit in their drawing and their color-work. In the latter respect they are wonderfully delicate and soft, and one looks upon them as specimens of an art that has unhappily disappeared. It is reassuring to find one's old friends in such good company, and one is inclined to look upon Joseph Cundall, upon his editors, and upon his printer, as having been benefactors of boyhood. For what a joy it was when earlier generations were freed from the thraldom of the "Pity's Gifts," and "The Village Orphans," and the "Child's Thoughts on Death"!

Thackeray, writing in "Fraser's Magazine" for April, 1846, thus proclaims his ecstasy in the contemplation of the Cundall volumes: "The mere sight of the little books published by Mr. Cundall — of which some thirty now lie upon my table — is as good as a nosegay. Their actual covers are as brilliant as a bed of tulips, and blaze with emerald and orange and cobalt and gold and crimson. I envy the feelings of the young person for whom (after having undergone a previous critical examination) this col-

lection of treasures is destined. Here are fairy tales, at last, with real pictures to them. What a library!—what a picture gallery! Which to take up first is the puzzle. I can fancy perplexity and terror seizing upon the small individual to whom all these books will go in a parcel, when the string is cut, and the brown paper is unfolded, and all these delights appear." And then, in writing of the artist who set forth the Myrtle books in glory, he adds: "Mr. Absolon has supplied a profusion of designs, which are all, without exception, charming. The organ of love of children, as developed on that gentleman's cranium, must be something prodigious, and the bump of benevolence quite a mountain. Blessed is he whose hat is enlarged by them."

Some notable connections were made by the Chiswick Press in the early forties. The name of David Bogue, for instance, stands alone in the ledgers in 1843, Tilt having disappeared. H. G. Bohn, then at 4 York Street, Covent Garden, began to deal with Whittingham in 1844, and in the same year, with the appearance of Cole and Cundall and Bogue, that is to say in 1843, George Bell, who, thirty-seven years later, was to succeed Nephew Charles in the proprietorship of the Chiswick Press, established a book business at 186 Fleet Street, and began to order editions from Took's Court.

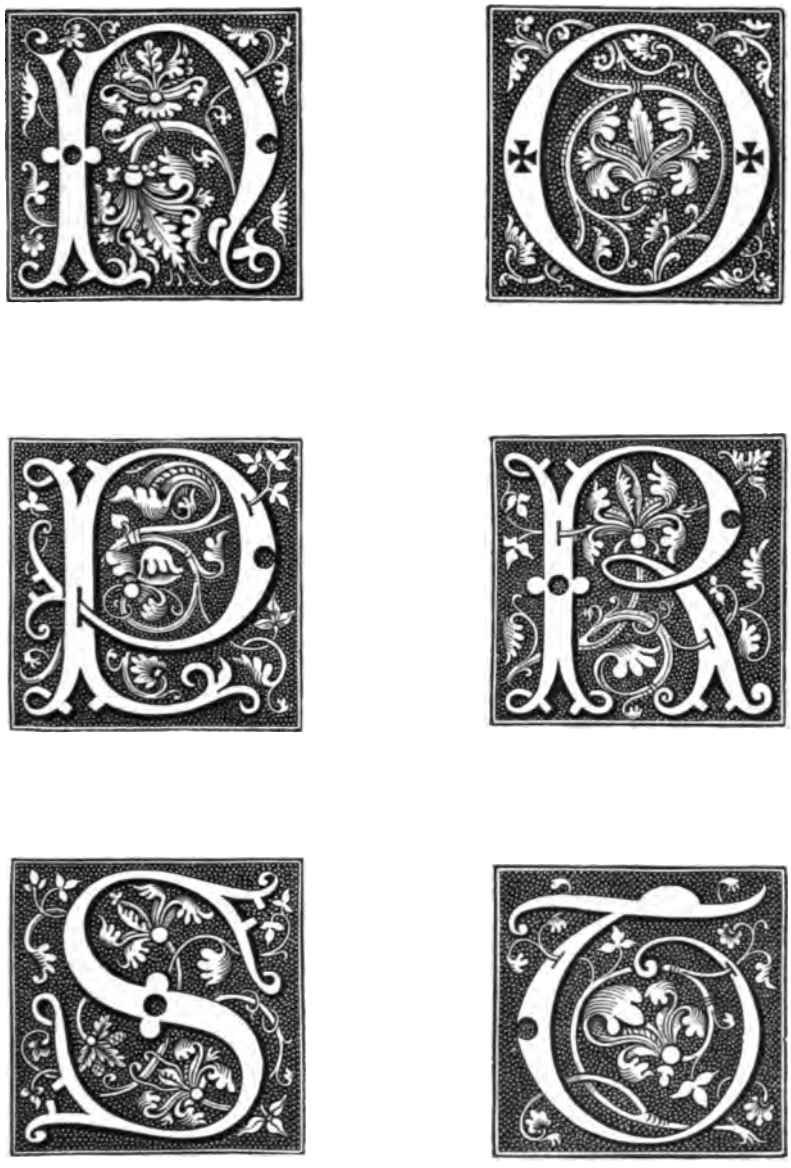
Designed by J. A. Montagu. Engraved by Mary Byfield.

Centerpiece first used as a gold block on the cover of Pickering's Folio Prayer Book.

Afterward used as an ornament for the books printed at the Chiswick Press.

It was in 1841 that Whittingham began a series of experiments which resulted in the production of his famous ornamented books. His first output in this direction was a prayer-book for Pickering. The favor with which this work was received encouraged the printer to specially devote himself to the production of ornamented volumes. Pickering was mightily pleased with the new departure, and he straightway devised engines for publicity, so that for a considerable term of years the world went chiefly to his shop for the beautiful craftsmanship of the Chiswick Press.

The Uncle Whittingham had made the printing of pictorial wood-engravings his specialty in bookwork. The Nephew Whittingham made it the peculiar grace of his craft to bedeck books with borders, comely headpieces, and other alluring devices. He carried this branch of his work to such an extent that you shall find nothing lovelier between book-covers until you turn back to the illuminated manuscripts of the Middle Ages. His prayer-books, for example, are among the most beautiful specimens of typography that have appeared since the invention of printing. There is a certain series that he made by reproducing important and valuable old editions which were widely scattered through great libraries. They are printed in black-letter. The first of the series is the First Prayer Book of Edward VI,



Initials from the Victoria Book of Common Prayer in folio.

bearing the date of 1549; then comes the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, 1552; then the First Book of Queen Elizabeth, 1559; then King James' Book, "as settled at Hampton Court in 1604"; then the Book of Charles I, 1637; then King Charles II's Book, "as settled at the Hampton Conference in 1662." These made six folio volumes printed on handsome paper with edges gilt. There were many editions of the Book of Common Prayer made by Whittingham, productions which deserve the highest praise. Some were plain, some highly ornamented, all were beautiful, many were magnificent. And there were "Communion Services" and "Occasional Offices of the Church," printed in red and black. The Victoria Book of Common Prayer, in large Old English type, the rubrics being in red, was carefully collated with the sealed book in the Tower of London. This was a supplemental volume to Pickering's noted series of the Common Prayer, a series which was printed on super-royal paper expressly made from molds designed to imitate an ancient fashion, and which shows all the changes made in the ritual from the time of the Reformation to the Savoy Conference. The Book of Common Prayer, "Noted by John Merbeck," is a verbatim reprint showing what parts of the service were chanted in the reign of Edward VI.

From the Queen Elizabeth Prayer Book of 1559.
Engraved by Mary Byfield.

One day, in 1847, Nephew Charles was invited to call upon Sara Coleridge, who wished to consult him about a second edition of the "Biographia Literaria," which her father, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, had written, and which his cousin, her husband, Henry Nelson Coleridge, had partly prepared for publication. Henry having died, the task of completing the project fell to his widow, who indited a defense of her father's opinions to the extent of nearly two hundred pages in the "Biographia." Whittingham, 't is said, looked forward gloomily to business discussion with a woman. He had always ungallantly confessed a small opinion of the executive talents of the sex. But from the interview with Mrs. Coleridge he returned in a state of elation. "Why!" exclaimed he, "Mrs. Coleridge is the only intellectual woman I have met. Her face is like alabaster for smoothness and whiteness, and her dark eyes flash with an intelligence beyond anything I ever saw. But, dear me, she comes of such an unhealthy family!"

Nephew Charles left Took's Court in 1849, his lease having expired. During the next three years all his printing was done at Chiswick.

Yours truly
Geo. Bell

CHAPTER SIXTH

FAIR Chiswick entertained the press but three years, on this removal, and then the quiet old place on the suburban river-bank was finally abandoned. Nephew Charles had succeeded in purchasing the freehold of his former premises in Took's Court, and there, in January, 1852, he returned with all the impedimenta of his "art and mystery," and there the Chiswick Press abides to this day.

Between Sylvain Van der Weyer, the Belgian minister at the Court of St. James, and Nephew Whittingham there was a feeling of cordial respect. The two men were often brought together in consultation. Van der Weyer was a connois-

seur whose judgment was highly valued in the book world. He had served with Whittingham on the printing jury at the Great Exhibition. He had married the daughter of Joshua Bates, who was the American partner in London of Baring's bank, and practically the founder of the Boston Public Library. Mrs. Van der Weyer, by reason of her own charms of character and person, not less than by her husband's eminence in diplomatic circles, was, until her death, honored by the close friendship of Queen Victoria, who reposed in her the utmost confidence, and who, it is thought, was greatly influenced by her during the American Civil War, when her Majesty's personal influence did so much to prevent England's recognition of the Confederacy. Van der Weyer was a member of the Philobiblon Society. Whittingham was the Society's printer.

The Philobiblon was a small and select body which came into being in 1854. It was "composed of persons interested in the collection and peculiarities of old books." There were some thirty-five of these associated enthusiasts, and the chief result of their joint endeavor seems to have been the issue of a volume of biographical miscellanies once or twice in a twelvemonth. The first patron of the society was His Royal Highness Prince Albert, the Queen's Consort. The earliest members were the Duc d'Aumale, the Earl of

Powis, the Earl of Dufferin, Richard Monckton Milnes, afterward Lord Houghton, Sylvain Van der Weyer, Octave Delapierre (the Belgian Consul), Thomas Erskine Perry, John Murray, Thomas Longman, R. S. Holford, Edward Cheney, Evelyn P. Shirley, and the Rev. Walter Sneyd. Lord Acton, Lord Taunton, Peter Cunningham, Henry G. Bohn, Dean Milman, Sir Charles Eastlake (President of the Royal Academy), the Honorable Robert Curzon, and the Honorable T. E. Stonor were among the well-known men who joined soon after the society was started. The Philobiblon lasted for a quarter of a century, and was then dissolved. Some of the members came to Took's Court for printing on their own account, and for extra copies of their respective Philobiblon papers. I find an account for fifty copies of a small quarto called "Jean, Roi de France," printed on the 17th of March, 1850, for the Duc d'Aumale, who was then living at Twickenham; and in 1856, for the same notability, one hundred copies of a crown octavo entitled "Notes et Documents." To the account of Richard Monckton Milnes, 16 Upper Brook Street, Grosvenor Square, there is charged, in 1850, a small quarto volume called "Fairfax on Witches," of which twelve copies were made, eight being on laid paper, two on tinted paper, and two on vellum. In 1856 Milnes ordered a crown oc-

tavo called, in the printer's account, "Monument for Scutari," of which he took one hundred copies, as well as seventy-six copies of "Boswelliana." In 1858 his account shows fifty copies of "From the Grange," an octavo, and thirty copies of a double post octavo containing papers "On the Apology for the Massacre of St. Bartholomew," "A Funeral Oration," and Keats' "Hyperion," of which collection twenty copies were printed on laid paper, five on tinted paper, and five on vellum.

For Octave Delapierre there were printed, between 1856 and 1859, a few copies of little books written or compiled by himself. The Chevalier de Chatelain, who was residing at 27 Grafton Place, Euston Square, had, in 1853, a small edition of Gay's "Fables in French and English"; during the next year five hundred copies of "La Fleur et la Feuille"; in 1856, three hundred of "Les Moins de Kilcrae"; and, in 1857, two hundred and fifty copies of a two-volume edition of "Les Contes de Cantorbery," with a portrait of Chaucer. In 1859, the year in which Longman ordered an edition of Rogers' "Recollections," the Chevalier had many copies of a book called "Cleomades." Lord Vernon had five hundred copies of an imperial quarto edition of Dante's "Inferno." This was in 1854. A year later he had a smaller number of the "Paradiso," and in 1855 of the "Purgatorio."

From "The Vision and the Creed of Piers Ploughman." Edition of 1842.

Who "Paddy" was I know not. But "Paddy, of Southampton Row," is charged, in 1854, with twenty-five copies of each of the following imperial folios: "Grecian Antiquities," "Views of Constantinople," "Panorama of Constantinople." To the account of Frederick Locker, in November, 1857, there is put down the first edition, three hundred copies, of the "London Lyrics," a book of ninety pages published by Chapman and Hall. The Baron Avisani, in 1859, had a goodly edition of "The Peace of Villafranca." Sylvain Van der Weyer had thirty-eight copies on "wove," and twelve on India paper, of a book called "Le Marquis de Sy." This was in 1858, in the month of March, when Sir John Simeon, Bart., ordered twenty-five copies of a post octavo called "Unpublished Poems of Donne." A year later Sir John had twenty-five copies of the "Trial and Execution of the Cenci." Sir Arthur Helps, described by Nephew as "a tall, military-looking man who spoke rapidly, and was so nervous and impatient that he seemed always in a tremendous hurry," had ten works printed in as many years. In '58, also, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, "of Bridge Street, Blackfriars," was charged for "composing a book."

Rossetti had come to Whittingham with this letter from Coventry Patmore:

British Museum
May 19. 1850.

Dear Sir,

My friend, Mr. D. G. Rossetti wishes to have a book, which he is about to bring out, printed at your press, and on the terms and in the style of the books you printed for me. You are probably aware of Mr. Rossetti's very high position as a painter — in which case this note of introduction will have been superfluous.

I am,
Dear Sir,
Faithfully yours
Coventry Patmore

C. Whittingham, Esq.

BRITISH MUSEUM,
May 19, '58.

DEAR SIR:

My friend, Mr. D. G. Rossetti wishes to have a book, which he is about to bring out, printed at your press, and on the terms and in the style of the books you printed for me. You are probably aware of Mr. Rossetti's high position as a painter—in which case this note of introduction will have been superfluous.

I am, Dear Sir, Faithfully yours,
COVENTRY PATMORE.

C. WHITTINGHAM, ESQ.

Rossetti had a few sheets of his "Early Italian Poets" set up, on the strength of this letter, but the work progressed so slowly that it did not appear till 1861. Coventry Patmore had produced three of his books at the Chiswick Press: "Tamerton Church Tower, and Other Poems," in 1854; and "The Angel in the House: The Betrothal," in 1854, and "The Espousal," in 1856. I find in the ledger of 1853 a charge against Francis Macpherson "for printing, on the 7th of March, one thousand copies of Arnold's 'Poems'." Sir Edwin Arnold, in courteous response to an inquiry, kindly identifies for me this little book. "I remember," he writes, "that F. Macpherson, bookseller at Oxford, brought out my first book of poems, entitled 'Poems Narrative and Lyrical,' in 1853, which Whittingham printed. The book still exists here and there, though I have no copy of it."

Ferdinand de Lesseps visited London in 1855, big with his plans for piercing the Isthmus of Suez. His mission was to interest the Englishry in his adventure. One day an urgent note from Panizzi summoned Whittingham to the British Museum. There he was introduced to De Lesseps, who wished to consult about the printing of some booklets concerning the canal project. *Le Grand Français* deigned not to address the printer, but begged Panizzi to interpret for both, and thus, by triangular discussion, the business was arranged. When the proofs were ready at Took's Court, De Lesseps rushed into the office with suggestions for alteration in his text. He was alone and could not wait for an interpreter, so, with what English he could muster, he bravely assailed Printer Charles with a hazardous vocabulary of tangled phrases. Vastly astonished was he when the quiet craftsman replied in excellent French:

"Monsieur may address me in his own tongue."

"Mon Dieu! Why did you not tell me that you speak French?"

"There was no occasion. Monsieur had never inquired."

In France the work of the Chiswick Press was esteemed not less than in England. Whittingham had, for many years, found an especial pleasure in printing books in the French language, and these achievements won the highest praise both from the printers and the *littérateurs* of Paris.

Basil Montague Pickering, son and apprentice of the excellent William, appears on the records in 1858 as a publisher and bookseller at 196 Piccadilly. The first work that Whittingham did for him was a dainty catalogue "in imitation of an Aldine volume." In 1859, to the account of Bell & Daldy, who had formed a partnership three years earlier, Whittingham charges an edition of "Garnett's Poems."

What the printer entered in his ledger as "Garnett's Poems" is identified by further search as "Io in Egypt, and other Poems, by Richard Garnett," a little volume of one hundred and fifty-two pages. It was not the first book by the accomplished poet-librarian. "Primula" was the first, but this was not printed by Whittingham, although several of its lyrics were reproduced in "Io." Dr. Garnett tells me that with all the pride of young authorship he presented copies of the first book, which bore his name on the title-page, to friends in a far country town. They were plain folk, and highly flattered by the attention of the young gentleman who had become so great a personage in London that his name was already "in print." But they were puzzled folk, too. They could make nothing of the title which their distinguished young poet had prefixed to his book. Discussions arose, and the far country town divided itself into two camps, the one declaring that "Jo in

BASIL MONTAGUE PICKERING'S

CATALOGUE OF

BOOKS.

DDISON, J. *Works, 4 vols, 4to, fine copy, free from ſtains, ſprinkled calf extra yellow edges by Bedford portrait and plates, by Grignion after Hayman, Baſkerville, Birmingham, 1761* 8*l* 8*s* No 1

A beautiful and eſteemed edition, copies are ſeldom found free from ſtains.—Lowndes.

Whoever wiſhes to attain an Engliſh ſtyle, familiar but not coarſe, and elegant but not oſtentatious, muſt give his days and nights to the volumes of Addiſon. —Dr. *Johnson.*

Æ ſchylus. Prometheus bound, the text newly reviſed with critical notes, by H. S. *Richmond, 8vo, bds, uncut, Pickering,* 1846 3*s* 6*d* No 2

Æ ſopus. Fabulae Gr. et Lat. et Ranarum et Murium Pugna, Homero olim aſcripta, 12mo, ſpirited cuts, Ultrajectum, 1685 3*s* 6*d* No 3

A griculture. Account of the Poor Colonies and Agricultural Workhouſes of Holland, by a Member of the Highland Society of Scotland, 12mo, bds, uncut, 1728 3*s* No 4

A lciatus, A. *Emblemata cum explicatione et vita per Claudium Minoem, 12mo, woodcuts, calf, bead-lines cut into, Lug. Bat. n. d.* 6*s* No 5

With autograph of Dr. *Farmer, and the following note in his writing: "Milton ſeems to have taken his allegorical picture of Sin from this Emblem."*—(*Em.* 68).

A ldine. The Aldine edition of the Britiſh Poets with Memoirs and Notes by Dyce, Mitford, and Nicolas, 53 vols, bds, uncut, portraits 11*l* 11*s* No 6

Authors may alſo be purchaſed ſeparately.

Egypt" was the author's hero, the other stoutly maintaining that "Ten in Egypt" was the theme of the poet's song, although neither school could find in the verses any allusion to "Jo," nor to the mystic "Ten." In the end, for lack of other agreement, both factions declared that the work covered some secret of profound learning.

I have told enough of the Whittingham story, I hope, to show that Nephew was a superb craftsman. And the Chiswick Press types and blocks, and the reproductions of titles and woodcuts with which the present book is printed, will bear out the testimony of this exercise in appreciation. Nephew Whittingham's may not be an historic character, as the saying goes, but it is an interesting one to lovers of fine printing. Nephew was a singular man in his way; some persons, I dare say, thought him odd; but every one who dealt with him knew his worth, and, the world over, wherever you find collections of beautiful books, you will find this London printer's work is highly prized. I take it, too, that Nephew rendered good service to the best literature in our language by dressing it in a fashion which did it honor and raised the general taste. I can find some satisfaction, too, in his humbler efforts — such as his shrewd diversion of composing nursery rhymes "up to cuts" which he had in stock. One cannot say that he wrote the verses, because he invented them at the type-

case while the leaden letters clicked under his fingers. The little books that he made in this way were acceptable to the small folk for whose amusement they were devised, and they eked out the accounts by working over the stock—a consideration which even a great craftsman must sometimes weigh if he would flourish.

About the year 1826 Nephew Whittingham married Miss Eleanor Hulley of Nottingham. Five children were born of this union: William, Charlotte, Elizabeth Eleanor, Jane, and Charles John. These sons and daughters were for many years connected with the Chiswick Press, the sons going through the regular apprenticeship course, assuming later on the general supervision of affairs, and acquiring skill well worthy to match that of their parent and his celebrated uncle. The daughters had in charge what I may dignify by the title of Department of Embellishment at the Chiswick Press. The term "embellishment" was popular with the bookmakers of past time, and the embellishments of the Chiswick Press books form the theme of conversation wherever two or three appreciators of ornamental printing are gathered together. Miss Charlotte Whittingham became, in 1865, the wife of Mr. B. F. Stevens, the American antiquary, who has now (1896) lived more than thirty years in London, greatly to the enrichment of our historical literature. Charlotte

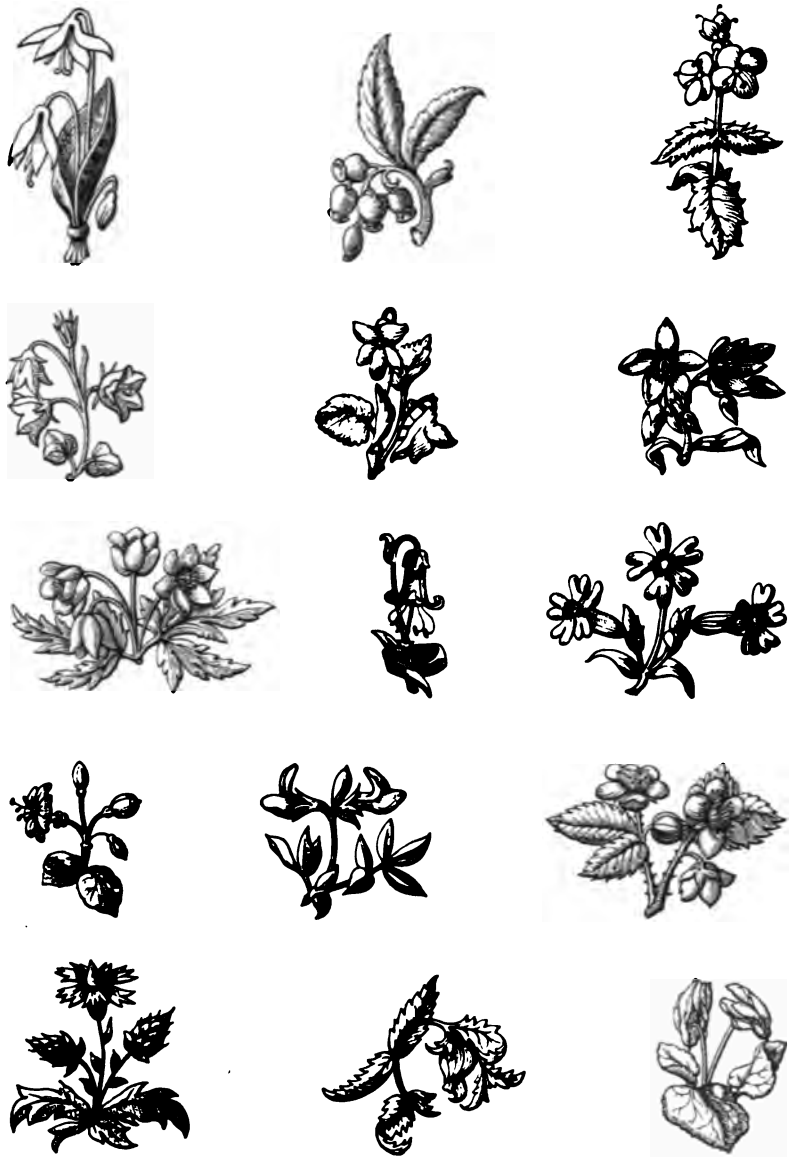
Whittingham Stevens began in her girlhood to design ornaments for the Chiswick Press books, and she continued this delightful duty down to 1860. Her drawings, and those of her sister Elizabeth, make by far the larger part of the extraordinary Chiswick Press collection of embellishments. What borders and what headpieces, what initial letters, what monograms, what book-plates, what alphabets did not these ingenious ladies invent for their appreciative parent, the Nephew Whittingham! All these things, and many more, are to-day extant in the nooks and corners of the Chiswick Press Building in Took's Court. A smaller Plantin Museum could be made up from the equipments left by the Uncle and the Nephew Whittingham. If these two craftsmen destroyed their correspondence and their diaries, they preserved their printing plant. What with old presses, and old fonts of type, and old wood blocks, and old designs of every sort, the belongings which they turned over to their successors form perhaps the most complete and instructive array in the possession of any English printing-house. For when Uncle or Nephew saw a good block, or a good design, or a daintier letter, he bought it, if only to prevent some other printer from possessing it. All the engraved blocks were cleaned after using, and carefully put away in an apartment which was not too dry and not

Charlotte Whittingham

Stevens

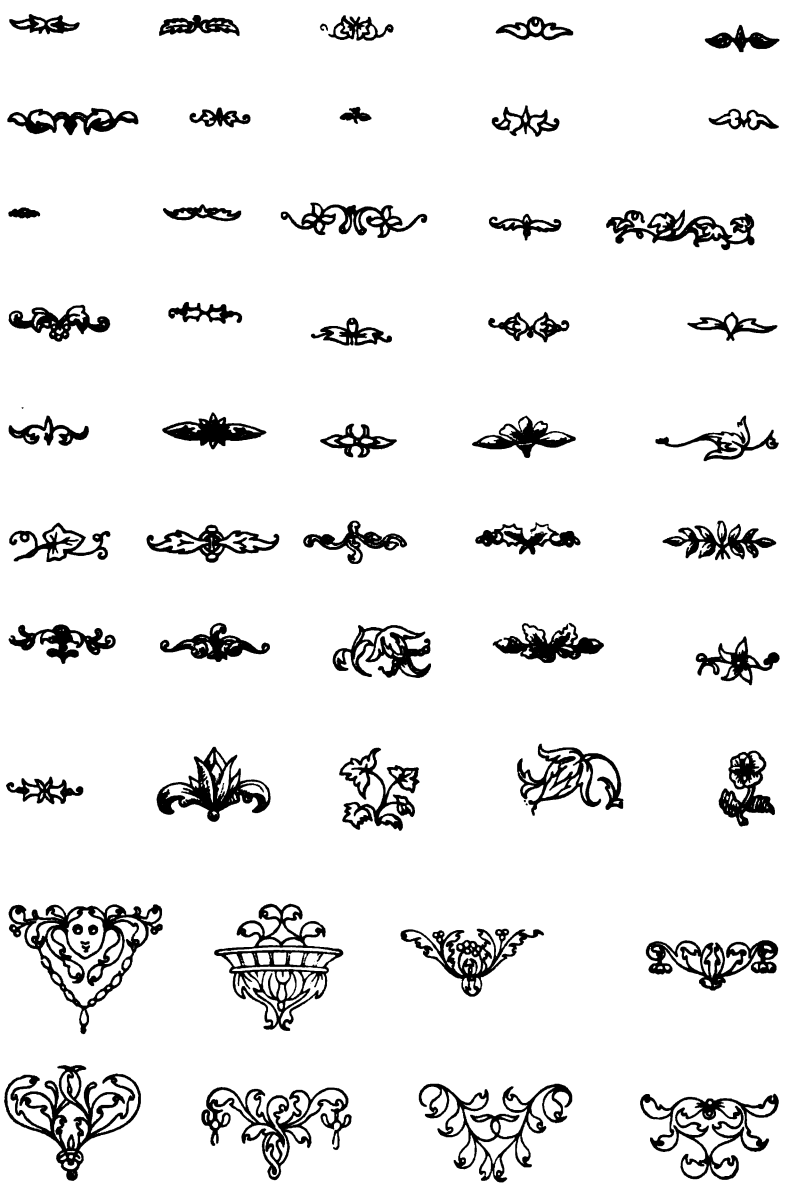
Designed by Charlotte and Elizabeth Eleanor Whittingham.
Engraved by Mary Byfield.

Designed by Charlotte and Elizabeth Eleanor Whittingham.
Engraved by Mary Byfield.

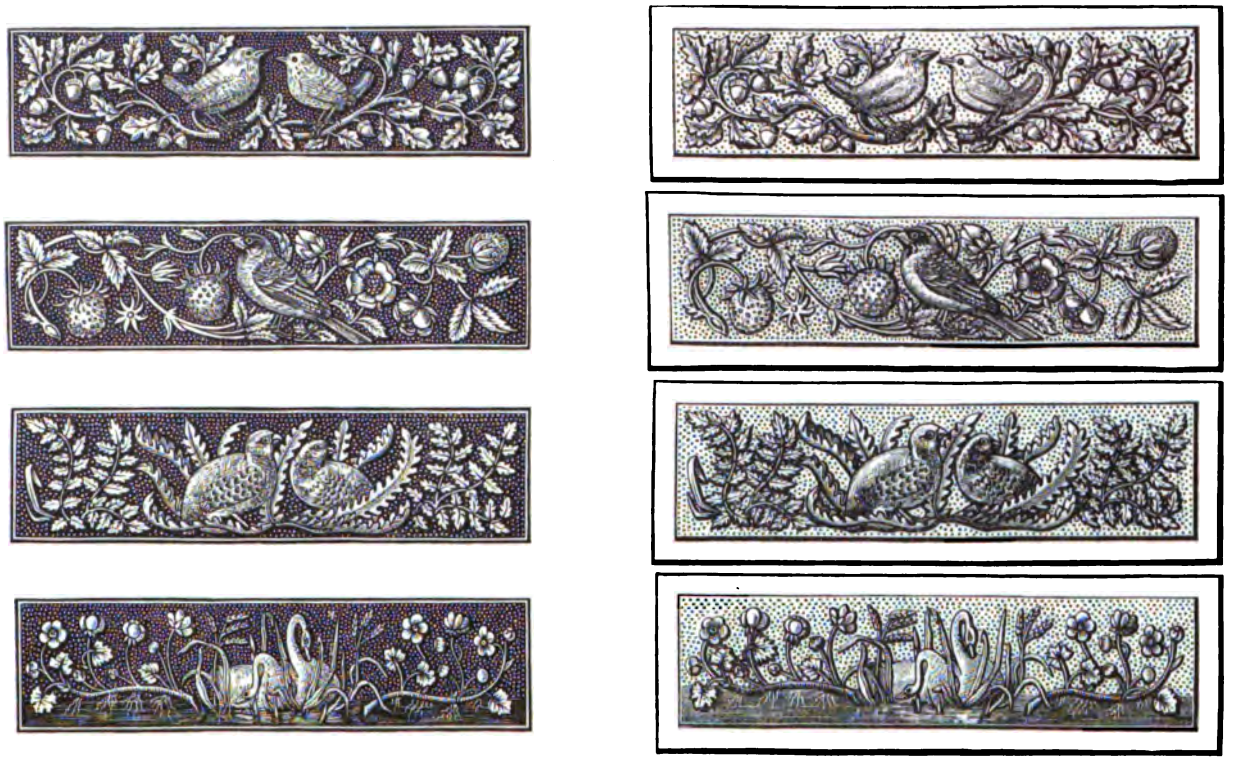


Designed by Charlotte and Elizabeth Eleanor Whittingham.
Engraved by Mary Byfield.

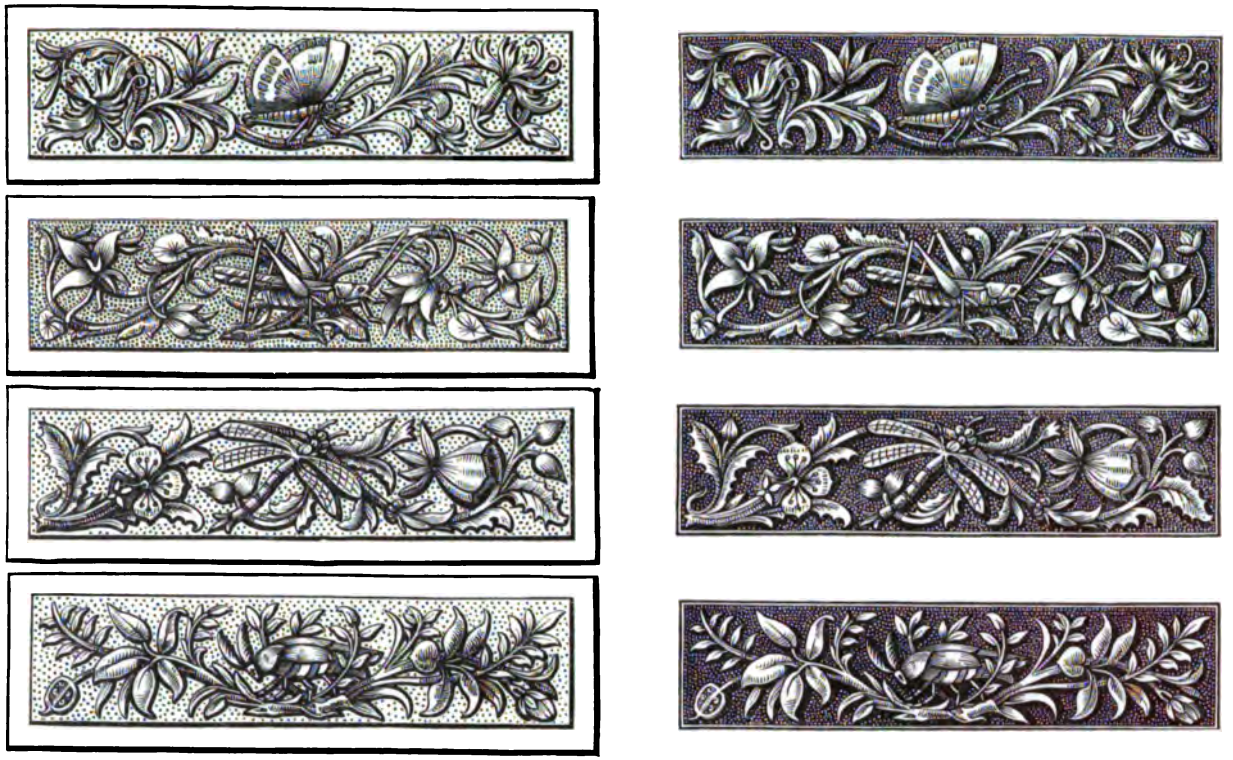
Designed and engraved for Cundall's books.



Designed by Charlotte Whittingham. Engraved by Mary Byfield.



Designed by Elizabeth Eleanor Whittingham. Engraved by Mary Byfield.



Designed by Charlotte Whittingham. Engraved by Mary Byfield.

too damp, and where the temperature was maintained at an even point the year through. The collection increased to vastness. Much of it was never used, but the work of accumulation ceased not while Nephew lived. New fashions of types, or rather the revivals of old fashions, were plentifully provided by Whittingham. There was, for example, a beautiful Caxton black-letter, so perfectly rendered that expert eyes could not tell it from the original.

The engraver of Nephew Whittingham's ornamental wood blocks was a woman, and she was as plucky as she was gifted. Her name was Mary Byfield. She came of a family of engravers, and she devoted her life to the support and education of a lot of little orphan nephews and nieces. She began to work for Nephew Whittingham soon after he started business in Took's Court. Among the important early examples of her work are the blocks for Holbein's "Dance of Death." She was in the constant employment of the Whittinghams until she died on the twelfth of September, 1871, at the age of seventy-six. With few exceptions, the whole of the Chiswick Press ornaments were engraved by her.

The Duke of Sussex, a son of George III, had a famous library, and after his death, in 1843, some of his choice books were bought by Nephew Whittingham. Pickering and Whittingham used

to study these old volumes, and any other choice ones that they chanced upon, and get from them ideas for their borders, initial letters, and head and tailpieces. This was ever their custom on Sunday afternoons. It does not follow that they always copied the old ornaments; their practice was to adapt them, and find suggestive fancies in them. This work of ornamentation resolved itself into a family business, for Pickering and Miss Byfield were such old and intimate friends of the Whittingham family that they seemed almost to belong to it. And then Whittingham's daughters had been taught to draw and paint, and to design. They almost invariably drew upon the wood. Charles Whittingham was a most particular critic, and every scrap of work that came from the little circle was minutely examined by him before the graving-tool made its first incision. Henry Shaw employed Miss Byfield to engrave his book of alphabets, and the best part of this collection was subsequently acquired by the Chiswick Press. Even after the Whittinghams retired from business in 1860, Miss Byfield continued to engrave their accumulation of designs, so that the whole of her work in this connection belongs to the Whittingham history.

To describe every part and parcel of the labor done by the Misses Whittingham and Miss Byfield is hardly practicable. Besides, such pains are

unnecessary, since the work speaks for itself. But the infinite labor of it, the great scope and variety of it, and the beauty of it, can perhaps be best esteemed if one turns the pages of two of the many books which came from Charles Whittingham's presses. Take, for example, Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book, in which the borders change on every page.[1] Some of these were designed by Miss Charlotte Whittingham. Miss Byfield copied the borders of the original book, and Miss Charlotte designed certain new ones to eke out the pages and maintain the variety. The additions harmonize so completely with the original work that it is hardly possible to say which are the modern and which the ancient ornaments. The sixteen beautiful borders in Keble's "Christian Year" were engraved from Miss Whittingham's designs on wood.[2]

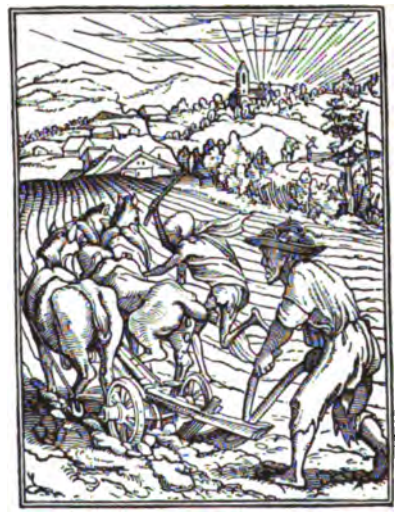
Geoffrey Tory of Bruges was a printer, bookseller, and cunning designer, who plied his trade in Paris in the sixteenth century, at a shop under the Little Bridge, adjoining the Hôtel Dieu, at the Sign of the Broken Pot. Geoffrey Tory, on the seventeenth day of January, A.D. 1525, published a Book of Hours, with its pages daintily set between arabesque borders. These exquisite ornaments were copied by Miss Byfield, and used in a prayer-book which was published by the Longmans.[3]

[1] See pages 259 to 266 for illustrations. [2] See pages 267 to 275 for illustrations.
[3] See pages 251 to 258 for illustrations.

Mary Byfield

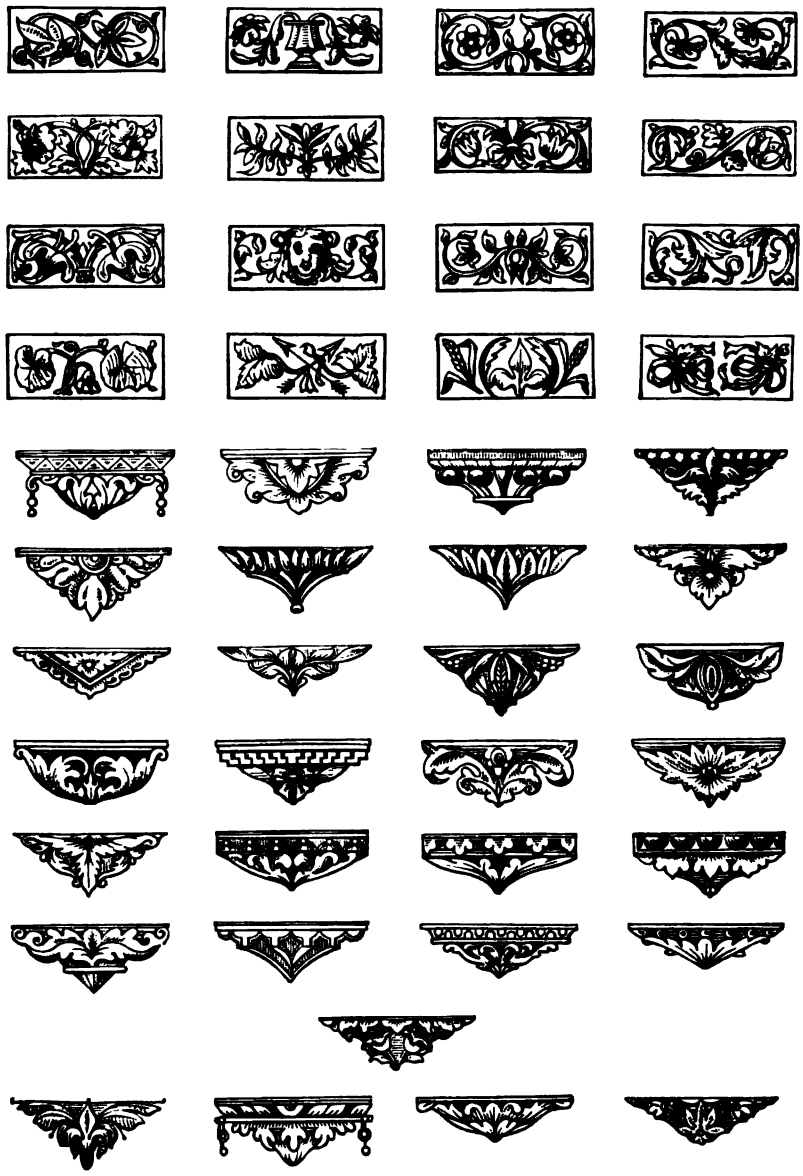
From a daguerreotype before 1850,
in the possession of her niece, Mrs. Bowyer.

Hannah in grief prayeth for a child.

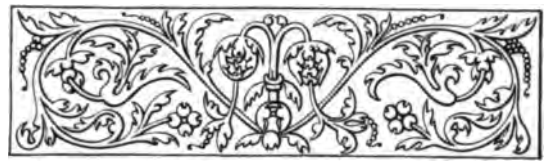


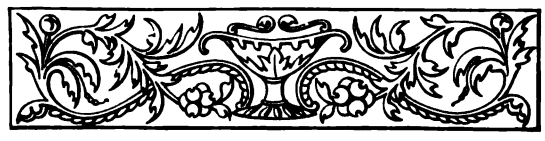
The Soldier. The Husbandman.

From Holbein. Engraved by Mary Byfield.



Designed by Charlotte Whittingham for Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book.
Engraved by Mary Byfield.





Adapted from Geoffrey Tory by Charlotte Whittingham.
Engraved by Mary Byfield, and used in Singer's Shakespeare.

CHAPTER SEVENTH

CHARLES Whittingham the Nephew and William Pickering were fast friends for a quarter of a century. During all that time they never had a disagreement, so far as I can learn, although they had many an argument concerning the fashion of a book. Whittingham's judgment in "make-ups" usually prevailed, as Pickering always acknowledged with the best grace in the world. The two men met frequently for consultation, and whenever the bookseller visited the press, which he often did, there were brave experiments toward. The printer would produce something new in title-pages, or in color-work, or ornament, and the bookseller would propound some

new venture in the reproduction of an ancient volume. Each man was ready to receive suggestions from the other, and ready to give them, into the bargain. They made it a point, moreover, to pass their Sundays together, either at the printer's house or at Pickering's, and I dare say planned all manner of hazards even then. But as it was the artistic side of the book-making business, and as the intercourse brought forth a numerous progeny of superb prayer-books, breviaries, and ecclesiastical manuals, I venture to bespeak for our departed friends the pardon of the Lord's Day Observance folk.

The names and the works of Whittingham and Pickering were so long and so intimately associated that it was natural enough for a friend of the printer to ask one day which man had more influenced the other — Pickering Whittingham, or Whittingham Pickering.

"My dear sir," replied Nephew Charles, "when you tell me which half of a pair of scissors is the more useful I will answer your question!"

William Pickering's bookshop was frequented by "the most distinguished patrons of the day." It had been so from the first, for Pickering had started in business under fortunate, albeit slightly irregular auspices, due to the romantic, if somewhat secret, circumstances of his birth. He was of noble lineage, although the conventionalities of

COLLEGE HOUSE. SUMMER HOUSE IN GARDEN-EXTERIOR.
From an oil painting by Charlotte Whittingham.

this life made it impolitic for his parents ever to acknowledge him. His father was a book-loving earl, and his mother a lady of title. Though the lad came into the world "without benefit of clergy," he was not uncared for. He was put to nurse with the wife of a tailor named Pickering, in St. James'. He received a good education, and was apprenticed to John and Arthur Arch, two Quaker brothers, who were booksellers at 61 Cornhill, and among whose apprentices Pickering had for his friends Thomas Sotheran and L. A. Lewis. The latter became, next to Whittingham, Pickering's most intimate associate through life; the former was the father of Henry Sotheran, one of the best-known London booksellers of the past fifty years. When Pickering started in business for himself "a mysterious stranger" placed one thousand pounds to his credit at the bank. With this assistance the young fellow made a place for himself in the book-trade, and being a man of shrewdness, and having a love for his calling, he prospered and left behind him an honored name.

Publishing was not his chief employment. He was notably a seller of old and rare books and manuscripts. He was also the book-buyer for many great libraries and for private collectors. His judgment was remarkably sound, and he had an extensive knowledge of books which won him serviceable reputation among bibliophiles. He

took to publishing, first, through a desire to reproduce old volumes, and then to dress exquisitely the works of English classic authors. Thus he was led to produce, with the second Whittingham's aid, his beautiful, and one can fairly say famous, editions of Milton, of Bacon, and of the "Aldine Poets," editions which alone would have brought to him and to his printer great repute, even had they ventured upon no other work.

Pickering had extraordinary memory. It was said of him that if any subject were suggested he could straightway name the books which treated of it. "I don't read 'em," he declared, "but I look through them to see what they contain, and I don't forget easily." Entomology was long a hobby with him, and his shop was a favorite resort of naturalists. He was an expert fly-fisher, and a loyal member of the Walton and Cotton Club, circumstances which may partly account for his enthusiastic production of editions of "The Angler." One of these editions was the superb affair of 1836, in two royal octavo volumes, for which Sir Harris Nicolas supplied the memoirs and notes. Pickering was a warm admirer of Thomas Stothard, R. A., whose paintings he delighted to reproduce by wood-engraving, or steel or copper-plate. Hence, for this Walton and Cotton he commissioned Stothard to "paint the scenery on the spot." James Inskipp was also

PICKERING AND WHITTINGHAM IN THE SUMMER HOUSE AT CHISWICK.

Drawn by Frank Dadd from an oil painting by Charlotte Whittingham.

enlisted in the enterprise, and for his fish pictures he received two thousand pounds.

Mr. Pickering died on the 27th of April, 1854, at the age of fifty-eight. His end was particularly sad. All the fruits of his life's labor were swept away from him by bankruptcy. He had backed the paper of a friend, and ruin was the miserable consequence of his kindness. He did not long survive the misfortune. But Nephew Whittingham stood by his old friend to the last, and with profound sorrow followed his remains to Kensal Green, where the good old bookseller was put to rest in the Whittingham burial lot.

Pickering's business and effects were sold by his fellow-apprentice at Arch's, that ever loyal comrade, Lewis Alpha Lewis, who had become one of the leading auctioneers of London. By judicious management the estate was enabled to pay the creditors in full. Whittingham had bought the book-marks and plates which had belonged to his old friend, but Basil Montague Pickering was permitted to use his father's marks in books which were printed for him at Took's Court. Bell & Daldy acquired the "Aldine" and other plates, and had their Bell-mark incorporated with the Anchor and Dolphin on their title-pages. With these exceptions the Anchor and Dolphin sign was used solely by the Chiswick Press, after Pickering's death. Yet, as Mr. George Bell purchased

the business at Took's Court after Whittingham's death, these designs have practically been used only on Chiswick Press title-pages.

The year 1854 was an inexpressibly grievous one for Whittingham. His wife died early in the year, and soon after that Pickering was taken away. The sorrow for these losses, and the stren-

uous labor of pulling his old friend's affairs together so that no creditor lost a penny, were, added to the management of his own affairs, a great strain upon the endurance of our printer. But he was too loyal a man to shirk the duty which he believed he owed to the memory of his friend, for whose sake he worked early and late during many months.

But he had always been a worker. He was not a mere figurehead in the concern; he was the practical man, and whenever a technical difficulty arose in any part of the office, he was the person to solve it. There was no kind of labor in any part of his establishment which he could not perform as well as the most skilful workman in his employ. He had cultivated the habit of industry so that it became second nature. He used to say that "a master who knows his work root and branch, and pushes it, encourages his men to work." This was certainly true in the Chiswick Press, where, under the Whittinghams, the men made long records of service. John Richardson, the parish clerk whom I have already mentioned, was apprenticed to the elder Whittingham, and he worked in the Chiswick Press for fifty-seven years. Then he retired on a pension. There were other cases of a similar sort.

This is not the place to draw distinctions between the old style of workmen and the new. But this much may be said: Whittingham's workmen were craftsmen, and they were quite as deeply interested in the quality of their labor as in the hours they gave to it and the wages they earned by it. There were never any disputes with the men. They knew, for one thing, that loyal service would be rewarded, that the superannuated would be pensioned; and they knew, for another thing, that

the Whittinghams were as clever craftsmen as themselves, and that they worked as hard as any of their employés.

Nephew Whittingham was never afraid to let his men see him at the "case," with his sleeves rolled up; or at the slab, grinding ink; or at the press, "making ready." He was sincerely proud of his thorough knowledge of the craft, and the men respected him for his skill. He would often, when experimenting over some new work, stay in the office at midday instead of going out for his dinner, toast a chop on the fire-tongs, and eat it standing as he made up a title-page. No important work ever passed from his establishment without being submitted to the test of minute criticism on his part. He almost always supplemented the work of the proof-reader, and he often caught authors and editors tripping in their facts, their quotations, or their orthography, even after the professional readers, and everybody else concerned, had revised the "pulls." He owned one of the best printer's libraries in Europe, and with the literature of his craft he was on intimate terms.

As a business man he was keen and conservative. He made few bad debts. He had a religious reverence for punctuality, and his word was known everywhere to be as good as any signed, sealed, and sworn document that lawyers could devise. A partner once asked him if it were wise

to give credit to a certain new customer: "Ah!" replied Nephew Charles, "there are two reasons why you should not give credit to a man: first, because you don't know him; second, because you do!" The second Charles was not speculative, like the first one. He stuck to his own business, and whenever he put money into anything else he did it as an investment, and not as a trade venture.

The Uncle, in his earlier days, cast about over a very wide ground, as I have shown. He had some droll ways for raising money, and among these was a curious traffic in cabbage-seed. His ledgers for the first ten years reveal a "Cabbage-Seed Account," showing how some of his useful early capital was gained. Instead of borrowing money he borrowed cabbage-seed in goodly consignments from some one he knew in Warwickshire. He would sell the seed, pay the consignor interest on the original value, retain the retail price, pocket the profits, and after a while remit to his country friend. He thus obtained the use of several hundreds of pounds sterling. But Nephew was not put to any of these shifts.

The Uncle was not much given to enthusiasms of any sort, but he did declare that Nephew was the best apprentice he ever had. The boy was determined to learn all that his relative would teach him, and the elder encouraged this useful zeal.

Nephew's first apprentice work was done on a handsome Bible printed at the Chiswick Press in 1811 for "John Reeves Esq:, one of the Patentees of the Office of King's Printer."

Even as an apprentice Nephew Charles had some influence in directing the taste of his excellent chief. The young man was much in the company of the older one, and the two had many talks about the manufacture of books. For one thing, the Nephew's visit to France had been helpful to the Uncle. Later, the young Charles cultivated friendship among the engravers, and was very zealous with the elder Charles in their behalf. He soon became more than a mere apprentice; he was the Uncle's right-hand man. The senior learned to rely upon him, to trust his judgment in many ways. He never favored him, though; he did not push the youth forward. Nephew Charles had to work his course and give proof of his capacity with each advance. Long before he left Chiswick to start for himself in Took's Court he was as capable a craftsman as the Uncle who had taught him.

Nephew Charles was not without bookish tastes, and he followed the literary discussions of his time with more than common interest. In one of these discussions he took an active part. It was in the controversy that raged over Jared Sparks' "Washington." Sparks contended that, as Washington

was "not a university man," it was the duty of an editor to dress the published correspondence in the style which the Father of His Country would have adopted had he enjoyed the proper opportunity to acquire it — that is to say, the society of Mr. Jared Sparks. This provincial notion of an historian's privilege aroused the ire of many critics, among them Lord Mahon, whose qualifications for judgment were certainly not less than those of the brilliant Sparks. Lord Mahon, in a pamphlet printed by Nephew Whittingham, attacked Sparks' doctrine of historical editing. On the heels of this pamphlet there came from the same press another by an anonymous author who cudgeled Sparks even more vigorously than Mahon had done. His lordship, struck by the ability of the contribution, urged Whittingham to confide to him the author's name. "I can't do it," said Nephew; "if the author did not choose to attach his name to his work, I can't betray his confidence. It is a printer's duty to 'follow copy!'" Years afterward Whittingham told his son-in-law that he himself was the author of the much-discussed pamphlet.

Although Whittingham was a shrewd business man who accumulated a snug fortune, he declined more than one trade opportunity to increase his wealth. He did not wish his attention to be diverted from fine printing. Thus, in the early

fifties, her Majesty's government decided to have the patent specifications printed, and to begin the task with the records of the sixteenth century. Whittingham assisted his friend, Bennett Woodcroft, who was clerk to the commissioners of patents, through the difficulties of determining the style of the myriad-volume work; he fixed the price that the government should pay, and he produced a number of specimen pages. But when the commissioners asked him to undertake the production of this gigantic work he declined the profitable chance, "because," said he, "I prefer to print fine books."

One of the finest books printed by him was his noble edition of the "Breviarium Aberdonense." This was primarily undertaken in behalf of the Bannatyne Club of Edinburgh, and it was four years in the making. It consists of two magnificent volumes in crown quarto, printed in black and red, several times the size of the original book, of which only four copies are at present known. The Bannatyne Club took one hundred and ten copies of this splendid work, the Maitland Club subscribed for a similar number, and a few extra copies were printed for James Toovey, the prosperous bookseller of Piccadilly. The production was one of rare scholarship as well as of beauty, and the editing fell to the competent hands of the Rev. William Blew, A. M. This Aberdeen

Breviary is a work of singular historical value, as well as of loveliness. "It is," avows the preface to Whittingham's volumes, "the only existing Use proper to Scotland, and is therefore of importance to those who regard with interest such an authentic record of the ancient forms and usages of the Scottish Church. . . . The fragments of biography, indeed, the legends and the hymns which are here enshrined, preserve under the seal of Church authority much more than is elsewhere recorded of that greatest of events in the History of Scotland, the conversion of her tribes to the Christian faith." The breviary was originally printed under the supervision of Bishop Elphinstone in 1509–10, by that Walter Chepman who operated the first printing-press in Scotland.

In many of Whittingham's books but little attention was paid to the regular sizes and shapes of the trade. In this respect, as in so many others, Nephew showed the courage of his taste by breaking away from deadly routine. Special sizes in paper were continually being made for him. Nephew, like the Uncle before him, carefully studied the processes of paper manufacture. His chief stationer was Henry Pouncey, of Long Acre, a man of scientific training, a fellow of the Royal Society, whose knowledge of his craft, and love of it, made him a valuable ally.

William Howard was a curious fellow on whom

the Nephew used sometimes to call for type designs. Howard had a small type-foundry in Great Queen Street. As a youth he had served apprenticeship to a type-maker. When his time was up he went to sea, and after some years of sailoring, which ended in shipwreck, he reached London, where he worked at making punches and matrices, and casting types, a trade which he followed half a dozen years or more before Whittingham made his acquaintance. Howard's sailor habits were so strong upon him that he would never sleep in a bed after he left the sea. After a late supper, which usually consisted of bread and cheese and old ale, he would at midnight turn into a hammock, or curl up on the floor, for six hours of sleep. He died in 1864, having for thirty-four years done much work of a special sort for Nephew Whittingham. His most notable performance was the famous Caxton font of the Chiswick Press.

Whittingham and Pickering had determined to complete a number of imperfect copies of Caxton's books. They devoted any amount of time and money to the exact reproduction of Caxton types. Howard, who was an ingenious and skilful workman, made numberless experiments, and finally triumphed in the main. What he could not do a Frenchman did. The name of this cunning Gaul does not appear. I learn only that he was a Pari-

sian, and that, with his efforts and Howard's, and with Whittingham to mix the inks and to print the pages, the keenest experts could seldom tell which were the Caxton imitations and which the originals. The type selected was that used in Caxton's "Cronicles of Englond." A peculiarity of the font is that almost every consonant is cast with an attendant vowel, as well as singly, so that an extraordinary increase in the number of characters was necessary.

These Whittingham chronicles end as the year 1860 comes to its close. Nephew Charles retired from business at that time, but he retained his financial interest in the Chiswick Press through the remaining years of his life. The story has been plainly told, with an aversion only for the dry bones of technical detail, and for multitudinous pages of uninteresting bibliography. When, in 1860, Charles the Second of the House of Whittingham admitted to business partnership John Wilkins, who had been his overseer and his first apprentice, he yielded the management of the press with this reminder: "John, in all my business life I have never given a bill." He was proud of the fact that at no time in his career had "paper" bearing his name been anywhere abroad in the world. In the early days of his independent venture he was hard put to it for money, and after a year or two at Took's Court he found himself

in the debt of the King's Letter-founder to the measure of several hundreds of pounds. Caslon asked the printer to give bills in discharge of the debt. "No, sir," answered Nephew Charles; "I have never given a bill, and I never will, not even if my creditors threaten to sell me up!"

"Then," quoth the considerate Caslon, "I am not the man to press you. Pray take no anxiety in the matter." The account was settled in due course, and Whittingham traded with Caslon as long as he traded at all.

This Charles Whittingham, with his grave ways, made very few close friendships, but those that he did engender were true through life. He never invited confidences, and he seldom imparted any. He had the smallest opinion of social intercourse. Life with him was a very serious affair, and while he continued in business he indulged in no relaxation. He made his business his pleasure, and the harder he worked the better he liked it. He was even a more skilful craftsman than his uncle, and, no doubt, even more successful in his trading. He was vastly proud of the Chiswick Press, and he had a right to be. He was everywhere regarded as one of the best printers in Europe. For the Great Exhibition of 1851 he was one of the jurors in the section that pertained to printing, binding, and paper and type-making, and he was made the reporter of the jury. His colleagues on

the jury were Sylvain Van der Weyer, Thomas de la Rue, F. Firmin Didot, Professor Hulse of Dresden, Lord Mahon, Charles Venables, and Henry Stevens of Vermont—"the Green Mountain Boy."

The partnership formed with John Wilkins, in 1860, ended with Wilkins's death nine years later. The old printer subsequently formed a partnership with his son-in-law, Mr. B. F. Stevens, and with John Wilkins's son. On the 21st of April, 1876, Charles Whittingham died at the age of eighty-one, and a few days later what was mortal of him was laid away in Kensal Green, in a grave adjoining those of his old friends William Pickering and L. A. Lewis. Soon after, the business of the Chiswick Press was acquired by Mr. George Bell, but the memories of its founder and his successor are perpetuated in the firm style "CHARLES WHITTINGHAM & Co."

Designed by Thomas Williams.
Engraved by Mary Byfield.

Designed by John Thomas.
Engraved by Mary Byfield.

Designed by T. A. Montagu.
Engraved by Mary Byfield.

Designed by Charlotte Whittingham.
Engraved by Mary Byfield.

1

2

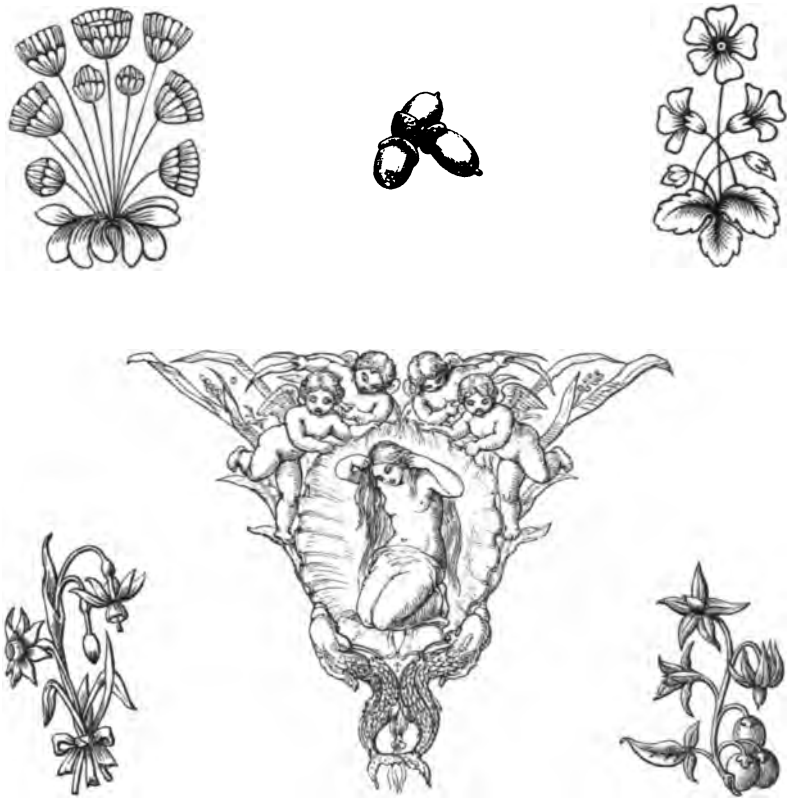
1, 2, 3.
Designed by
Charlotte
Whittingham.

3

1, 2, 3.
Engraved by
Mary
Byfield.

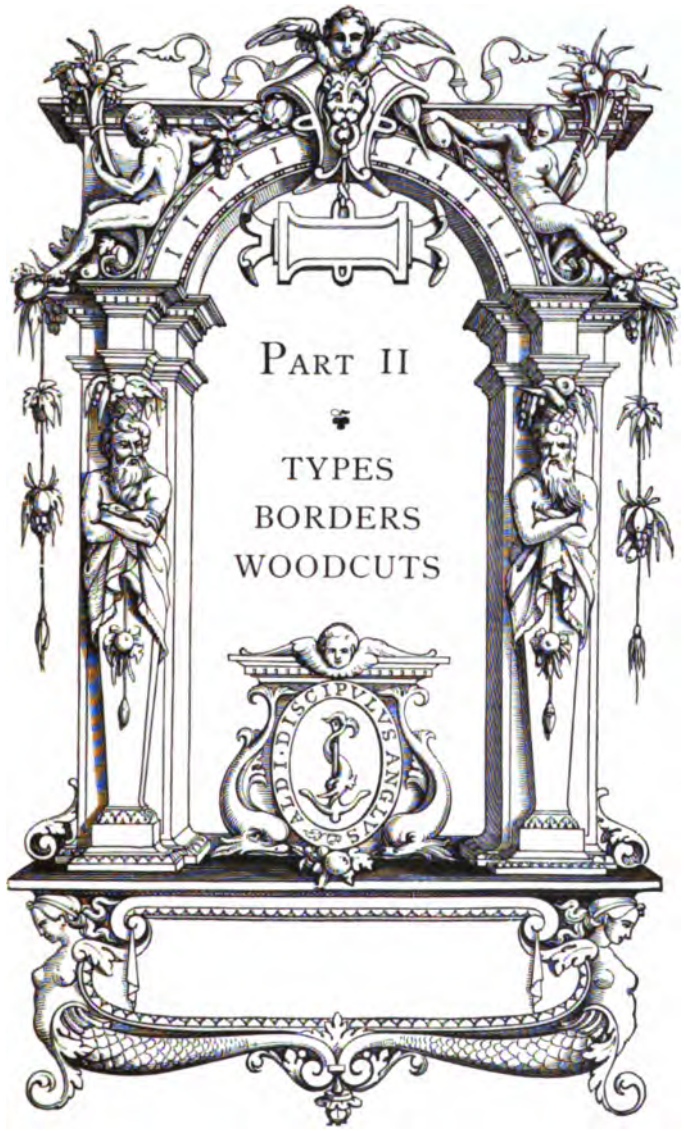
Pickering's device.

Designed by John Thomas, sculptor.

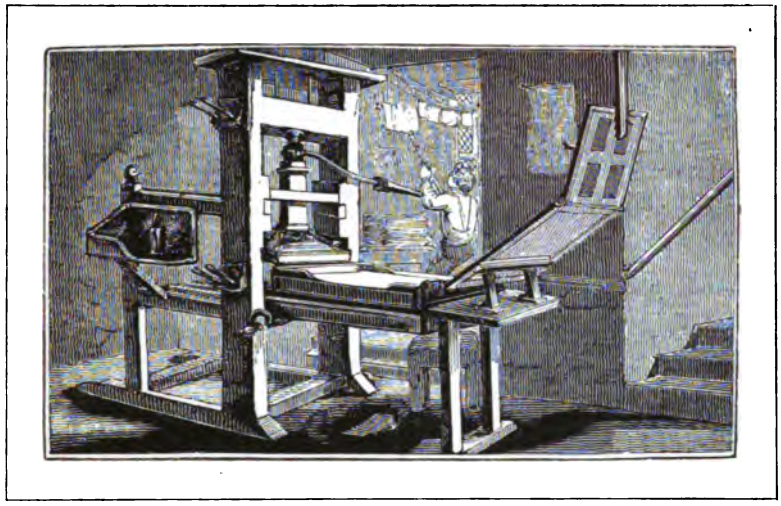


Designed by Richard Redgrave.

Floral devices designed by Charlotte Whittingham.



Title border for Bacon's "Essays" and "Novum Organum."
Engraved for William Pickering.



The Hand-press of Wooden Frame used by Whittingham and by all master printers at the beginning of this century.
From Johnson's "Typographia."

ABOUT TECHNICALITIES

TO drown in easy narrative a mass of dry technicalities, and yet permit definitions to keep their heads clear above the flood, so that he who wishes may use them as guiding marks, is a leading purpose of these chronicles. If something more than common is said from the printer's point of view the excess may find excuse in this: that artists, engravers, authors, and enthusiastic collectors have hitherto monopolized the literature of book-making. We may fairly give the craftsman a turn, and with an exhibition of his "art and mysteries" lend a word of guidance to the appreciative.

We have seen that when Whittingham the elder began business in his London garret in 1789, the art of printing was in a low condition in Great Britain. Good work, to be sure, had been well done by Foulis and Baskerville; it was even then well done by Bulmer and Ritchie; but their honest workmanship, and the much-admired books of Bodoni at Parma, and of Didot at Paris, did not impel the average English printer to rivalry, nor even to feeble imitation. For apathy the Briton had a ready excuse. The implements of his craft were defective.

The bad workman blames his tools; the bad printer therefore blames his types, paper, and presses. It is easier to put irresponsive materials in fault than to confess to carelessness or incapacity. Yet why should good impressions, or exact register, have been expected from shackly presses of wood? Why look for black ink or clear print on paper that was coarse, grimy, knotty, badly cleansed, or stuffed with clay? How could any one have made a pleasing page from old-fashioned, angular, awkward, and meager types with faces that were too small for their bodies? But there were men who succeeded with these odds against them, or who, at any rate, reduced the odds.

Types were held to be most in fault. There seems to have been a tacit agreement between readers and printers that the bad printing of England was due chiefly to bad types, and that any reform in printing must begin with some new and more pleasing style of roman text-letter. The Baskerville style had been condemned at its introduction. After years of unquestioned supremacy, the Caslon style had been put aside as antiquated. Younger type-founders, Martin, Fry, Jackson, Cottrell,

Son éducation fut négligée; mais la nature suppléa à l'instruction.

The types of Bodoni.

Iaces indigno, quanta res, inquit, loco!
Te si quis pretii cupidus vidisset tui,
Olim redîsses ad splendorem pristinum.

The types of Didot.

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz&

The types of Caslon of 1740.

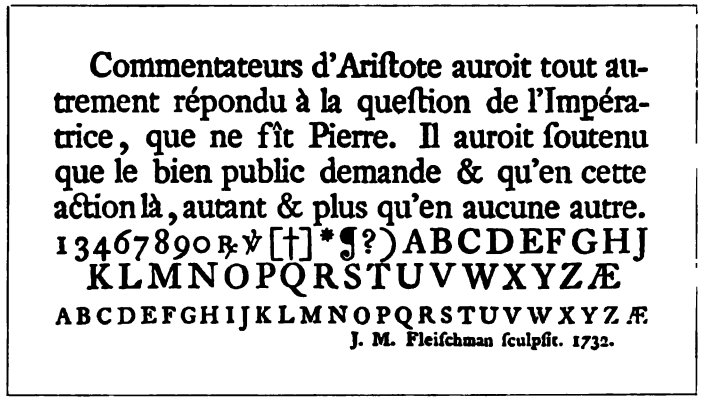
ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
abcdefghijklmnopqrſtuvwxyz &

The types of Mrs. Caslon of 1796.

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUV
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz&

The types of Thorne of 1800.

and Figgins, in their respective foundries, produced new styles of Roman letter to please the prevailing capricious tastes. The rounder form and enlarged face designed by Fleischman in 1739, and made by the Enschedé foundry


Commentateurs d'Ariſtote auroit tout autrement répondu à la queſtion de l'Impératrice, que ne fît Pierre. Il auroit ſoutenu que le bien public demande & qu'en cette action là, autant & plus qu'en aucune autre.
1346789 0 ℞ ℣ [†] * ¶ ?) ABCDEFGHJ
KLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZÆ
ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZÆ
J. M. Fleiſchman ſculpſit. 1732.

From "Proef van Letteren," etc. J. Enschedé, 1768.

of Haarlem, seem to have served as a general model for the English founders, as they had previously served for the new styles of Bodoni and Didot. The long ascending and descending letters, the over-long serif and protracted hair-lines of Bodoni were also imitated by some founders; but the over-broad thick-line, with its contrasting razor-edged hair-line, of François-Ambroise Didot seems to have won the greatest favor. Working along different courses for different ends, the competing founders soon produced a bewildering variety of styles. At the beginning of this change in fashion there were points of agreement in all the new styles; an avoidance of angularity, a preference for round forms, sharp hair-lines and protracted curves could be noted in all.

A great fault of English book-printing at the close of

the eighteenth century was the grayness of the ink and the feebleness of the print. Instead of using blacker ink and finer paper, which would lead to increased expense; instead of making firmer and more even impressions, which would lead to an increase of labor; the remedy for feeble printing was sought in a type of broader face. It was then believed that a broad-faced letter, which would hold and transfer to paper a larger supply of ink, would effectually prevent this fault. To meet this demand, the type-founder Robert Thorne, of London, put aside, in 1803, an admirable series of faces, recently cut by him, and not much inferior to those of the first Caslon, and introduced instead an exaggeration of the broadened thick-strokes of the Didot style. Although condemned by the best printers of the time, the fat-faced type, as it is now called, was much admired by the public and was freely used in books.[1] Printers who would not tolerate its excessive boldness found no substitute but the Didot face, which was reluctantly accepted. Even the conservative Caslons had to conform partly to the vitiated taste and make their types rounder and bolder.

In the earlier work of the first Whittingham, as in "Pity's Gift," and "The Tomahawk," the excellent old-style type of the Caslons is the only type to be seen. It does not appear that the Uncle Whittingham had any other at that time. He had begun as a master printer by adhering to the old-style, and by resisting the new fashions, no doubt to the loss of orders. Convinced of the futility of continued resistance, he afterward bought

[1] "The rage is now [1822] which of them [the typefounders] can produce a type in the shape of a letter with the thickest lines, and with the least white in the interior parts." Savage, "Practical Hints on Decorative Printing," p. 21. 4to, London, 1822.

the new faces, and followed the fashion. The Gay's "Fables," of 1801, is printed on one of the newer faces — a mongrel old-style, rounder, lighter, and less angular than that of the first Caslon, apparently one of the new faces of Mrs. Caslon. His "Poems of Camoens," printed in 1805, has the text and preface in a new cut of round and thicker-faced roman that is destitute of all old-style angularities. The Caslon letter appears only in the italic of the notes, and timidly, as if it were conscious of being out of fashion. The long ſ has been supplanted by the short final s; and there are other new fashions in typography.

The Gay's "Fables," of 1812, and the "History of Rasselas," of 1818, show a wider departure. The types of these books are small but black, with thick stems and sharp hair-lines, cut in imitation of the round and bold face of the Didot style. This new face seems to have been a favorite; it was used almost exclusively for many subsequent years. The Caslon old-style disappeared. The fat-faced roman of Thorne was never used by Whittingham. While the bold-faced letter of the Didot style was new, retaining its sharp hair-lines and clean edges, it could produce admirable presswork, as is shown in the books cited; but when it became worn and blunted, no skill of the pressman could make it pleasing. Its beauty was quickly lost.

"The Tower Menagerie," of 1829, marks another change in typographic fashion. We find here a small, round, and moderately compressed face of a new and much lighter style, remarkable for its graceful curves, sharp hair-lines and close fit. A subsequent outgrowth of this style was the "Scotch-face," in which these fea-

THE SETTING-DOG AND THE PARTRIDGE.

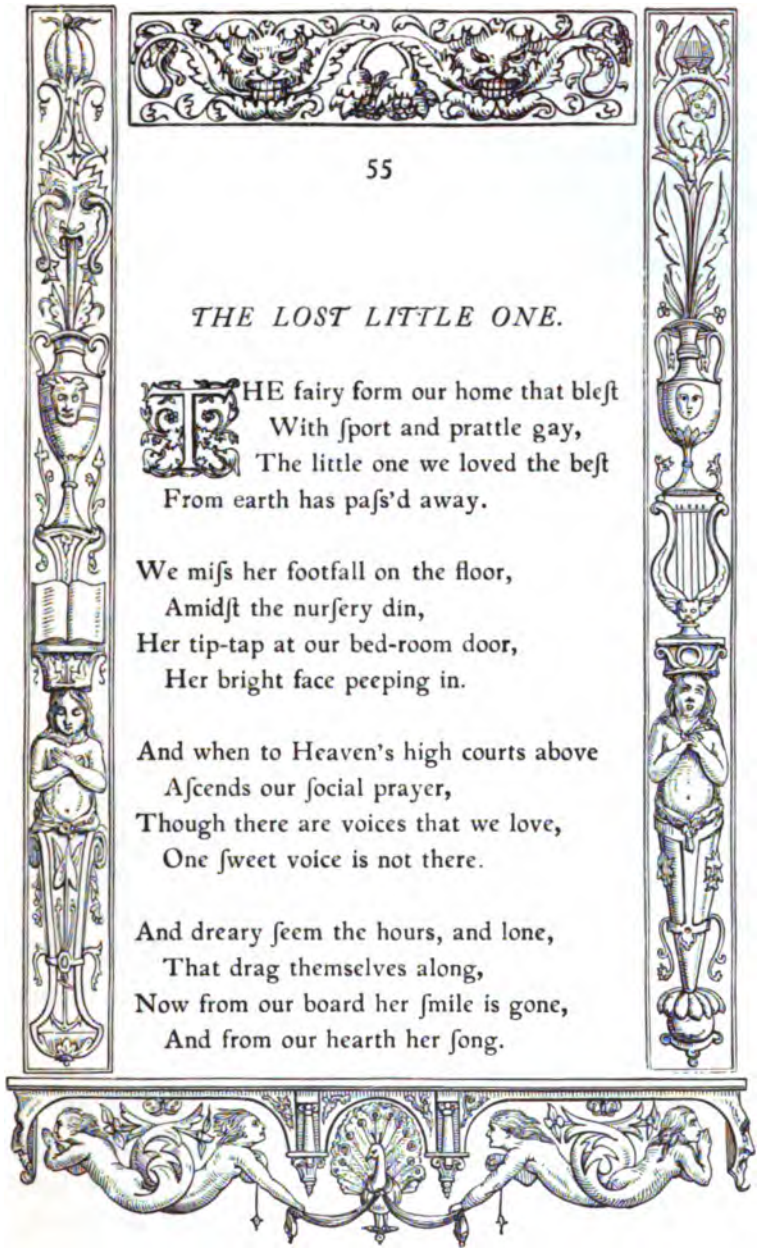
THE ranging Dog the stubble tries,
And searches every breeze that flies;
The scent grows warm; with cautious fear
He creeps, and points the covey near;
The men, in silence, far behind,
Conscious of game, the net unbind.
A Partridge, with experience wise,
The fraudful preparation spies;
She mocks their toils, alarms her brood,
The covey springs, and seeks the wood;
But, ere her certain wing she tries,
Thus to the creeping Spaniel cries:
"Thou fawning slave to man's deceit,
Thou pimp of luxury, sneaking cheat,

tures were more highly developed. The "Scotch-face" was a pleasing novelty much admired by the book-buyers, and it retained popularity for many years.

But there were critics who looked with aversion on the increasing effeminacies of letter-cutting. They condemned the sharp hair-lines, long serifs, and gradual tapering curves of the new school as improper imitations of the graces of penmanship and copper-plate engraving. They longed for a return to the bold, manly, and more readable styles of Caslon and Van Dijk, who had made types to aid the reader rather than to show the dexterity of the letter-cutter. This desire for a return to simpler styles induced Nephew Whittingham to reinstate the true old-style type of the first Caslon. Matrices that had been reposing in the vaults of the Caslon foundry for nearly three generations were refitted to molds, and made to serve for the casting of types for "The Diary of Lady Willoughby," which was published in 1844. The selection was a wise one. No new face of this century has been so successful as the revived Caslon old-style.

The "Wife's Manual," of 1856, was printed in another face of old-style type, made to the order of Nephew Whittingham, for the exclusive use of the Chiswick Press. It was called the "Basle" style, probably because it was used at Basle in the last decade of the fifteenth century. Some of its peculiar features are to be seen in Venetian volumes of the same period. It is a quaint and readable type, but not a general favorite, although it was selected by William Morris for one of his earlier books.

The early selections of black-letter by the Chiswick Press were not happy. During the first quarter of this century, following the fashion of the time, the elder Whit-



55

THE LOST LITTLE ONE.

THE fairy form our home that bleſt
With ſport and prattle gay,
The little one we loved the beſt
From earth has paſs'd away.

We miſs her footfall on the floor,
Amidſt the nurſery din,
Her tip-tap at our bed-room door,
Her bright face peeping in.

And when to Heaven's high courts above
Aſcends our ſocial prayer,
Though there are voices that we love,
One ſweet voice is not there.

And dreary ſeem the hours, and lone,
That drag themselves along,
Now from our board her ſmile is gone,
And from our hearth her ſong.

A page of the "Wife's Manual," of 1856.
By courtesy of Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co.

tingham adopted the new fat-faced black-letter, designed by Thorne. For this he was sharply rebuked by Dibdin and Hansard. The Nephew's work showed a purer taste. The text of the "Little Passion" of Albert Dürer (1844) is in Old English types of correct form—fair copies of the letters used by the Norman printers who in the sixteenth century practised their art in London.

The Whittingham folio reprints of the Book of Common Prayer deserve the highest praise for their pure form of black-letter and for their appropriate decoration. But although Nephew Whittingham seems to have preferred the Old English form of black-letter, he did not exclude other faces of merit. The headings of some of his later books are in modernized forms of Flemish black-letter. They are good copies—possibly castings from the original matrices—of the beautiful forms of Van Dijk. Here the Nephew stopped. He rigorously excluded from his good books all the modern forms of finical black-letter, that seem to have been designed by writing-masters and engravers of visiting-cards.

The Nephew's honest liking for the excellencies of old types was also exhibited in his selection of the italic of Aldus for Basil Montague Pickering's "Catalogue of Curious and Standard Books,"[1] in 1858. This revived Aldine italic, with its offset roman capital letters of small size, departed too much from the prevailing standard of form to meet with general approval.

The development of the Whittingham taste in the use of types may be traced in the Chiswick title-pages. The Uncle began by following the artificial and feeble style of his time, as we see it in the title of Young's

[1] For illustration see page 181.

Dibdin's Remonstrance.

Why does he adopt that frightful, gouty, dis=proportionate, eye=distracting and taste=re=volting form of black=letter, too frequently visible on the frontispieces of his books?

The Thorne style of black-letter.

The Last Judgment.

When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy Angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory: and before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats.

The black-letter of early English printers.

Therefore I, William Caxton, a symple personne, have endevoyred me to wryte fyrst over all the said Book of Polycronycon, and sommewhat have chaunged the rude and old Englisshe that is to wete, Certain words which in these days be neither usyd ne understanden.

The Flemish black-letter used by Caxton.

Sum rex, sum princeps,
Neutrum fortasse deinceps;
O qui jura regis
Cristi specialia regis,
Hoc quod agas melius,
Justus es, esto pius.
Nudum jus a te

Destrui vult pietate;
Qualia vis metere
Talia grana sere.
Si jus nudatur
Nudo de jure metatur;
Si seritur pietas
De pietate metas.

Flemish black-letter of a later period, after the models of Van Dijk.

"Night Thoughts." In this, and in the titles of many following books, the type was displayed, with big capitals and little capitals, long lines, catch lines, thick-faced cross-rules, italic and diamond dashes, making, as far as the words allowed, a fair showing of the variety of fonts in stock. It was then, and it is yet to some extent, a practice of the trade to define the relative importance of a title line by a selection of large or small types, and by lengthening or shortening the lines alternately. Sometimes the types were too small for the page or for the text. Sometimes there were not letters enough to fill the line, and in that case the letters were thrust apart by wide gaps of white space which almost destroyed their connection. In the hands of the unskilled a title-page so treated is weak and meaningless. The Uncle Whittingham was quite as successful as any other printer of his time with titles made after old-fashioned rules, but the rules were arbitrary and mechanical. He outgrew them.

The Nephew's attempts at improvement are first shown in the addition of specially engraved borders, which give a proper boldness and beauty to the door by which the reader enters to the text. The "Legends of the Lakes" (1829), the "Whole Duty of Man" (1842), the "Institucion of a Gentleman" (1839), and the "Temple" (1850), are fair examples. Possibly the suggestion of improvement emanated from Pickering, for in the Pickering books Whittingham's engraved title-page borders are first shown.

Nephew Whittingham broke away from the traditions of the conventional displayed title. The balancing of long lines and short lines, the mixing of italic with roman capitals and black-letters, and the general treatment of

THE

LIFE OF SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.

COMPREHENDING

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS

STUDIES AND NUMEROUS WORKS,

IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER;

A SERIES OF HIS

EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE AND CONVERSATIONS

WITH MANY EMINENT PERSONS;

AND VARIOUS

ORIGINAL PIECES OF HIS COMPOSITION.

THE WHOLE EXHIBITING

A View of Literature and Literary Men in Great Britain,

FOR NEAR HALF A CENTURY DURING WHICH HE FLOURISHED.

BY JAMES BOSWELL, ESQ.

WITH COPIOUS NOTES AND BIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATIONS,
BY EDMOND MALONE, ESQ.

CHISWICK:
PRINTED BY CHARLES WHITTINGHAM;
FOR JOHN SHARPE, PICCADILLY.

M DCCC XXX.

a title-page as a handbill or an advertisement, gave place to the simpler style adopted in "The Works of George Peele" (1829). The "Friends in Council" (1849) is equally good. In the title first named the points of punctuation are placed according to old usage; in the other title a colon is put at the end of the word Council, but all other points are omitted. In subsequent titles all points are omitted.

The last thing we learn is simplicity. Printers and publishers labored many years in typographic fetters before Whittingham and Pickering had the courage to throw off the deadly shackles. The models which suggested the new treatment were obviously the half-titles of Aldus. But the instruction of Aldus was bettered at the Chiswick Press. The Pickering title, as it is now called by the printing trade, is the one still in general favor, although many attempts have been made to supplant it with imitations of the unworkmanlike titles of early printers of deficient taste. The reaction against the effeminacies and ineffective composition of the modern title has been pushed to an unwise extreme; coarse letters have been huddled together in paragraph style, without appreciable spaces between words or lines; words have been mangled in division; and necessary punctuation has been omitted to such an extent that, instead of being praised for reform, many of our printers should be blamed for imitating the undeniable faults of early workmen. The types of the Pickering title show none of these servile mannerisms; they are always large and readable, always symmetrically arranged, always in harmony with the text, and in proportion to the available space.

THE WORKS OF GEORGE PEELE:

COLLECTED AND EDITED, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS, BY THE REV. ALEXANDER DYCE, B. A.

SECOND EDITION WITH ADDITIONS IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
WILLIAM PICKERING.
1829.

FRIENDS IN COUNCIL:

A SERIES OF READINGS AND DISCOURSE THEREON

BOOK THE SECOND

LONDON
WILLIAM PICKERING
1849

THE

Complete Angler

OR THE

CONTEMPLATIVE MAN'S RECREATION

BEING A DISCOURSE OF RIVERS FISH PONDS

FISH AND FISHING WRITTEN BY

IZAAK WALTON

AND

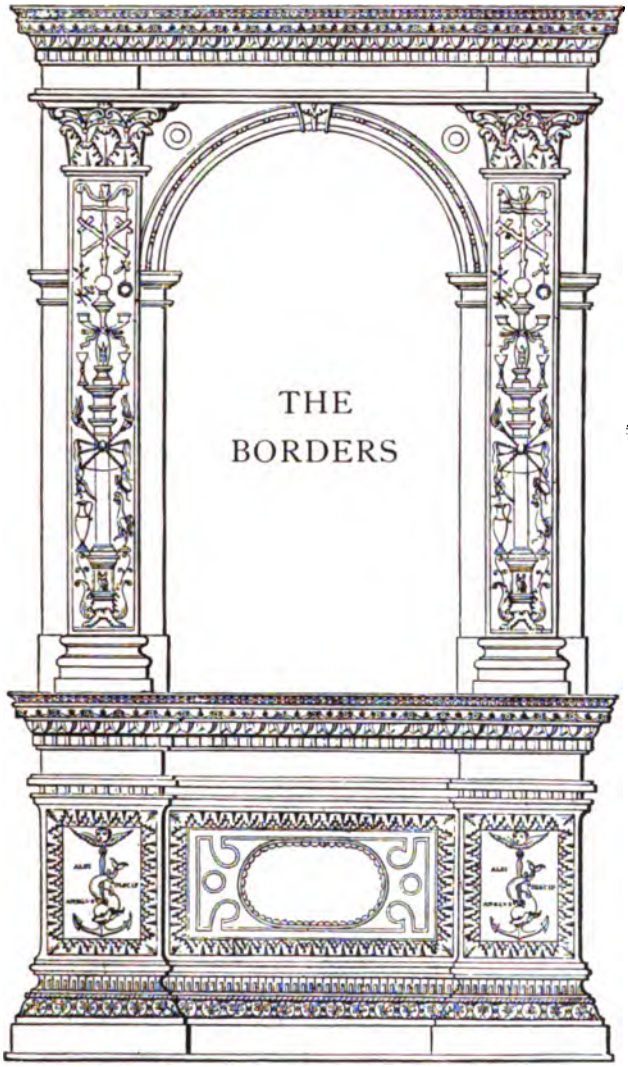
INSTRUCTIONS HOW TO ANGLE FOR A TROUT OR

GRAYLING IN A CLEAR STREAM BY

CHARLES COTTON

WITH ORIGINAL MEMOIRS AND NOTES BY
SIR HARRIS NICOLAS
K. C. M. G.

LONDON
WILLIAM PICKERING
1836



Title Border for "The Remains of George Herbert."
Printed in 1841 for William Pickering.

THE BORDERS

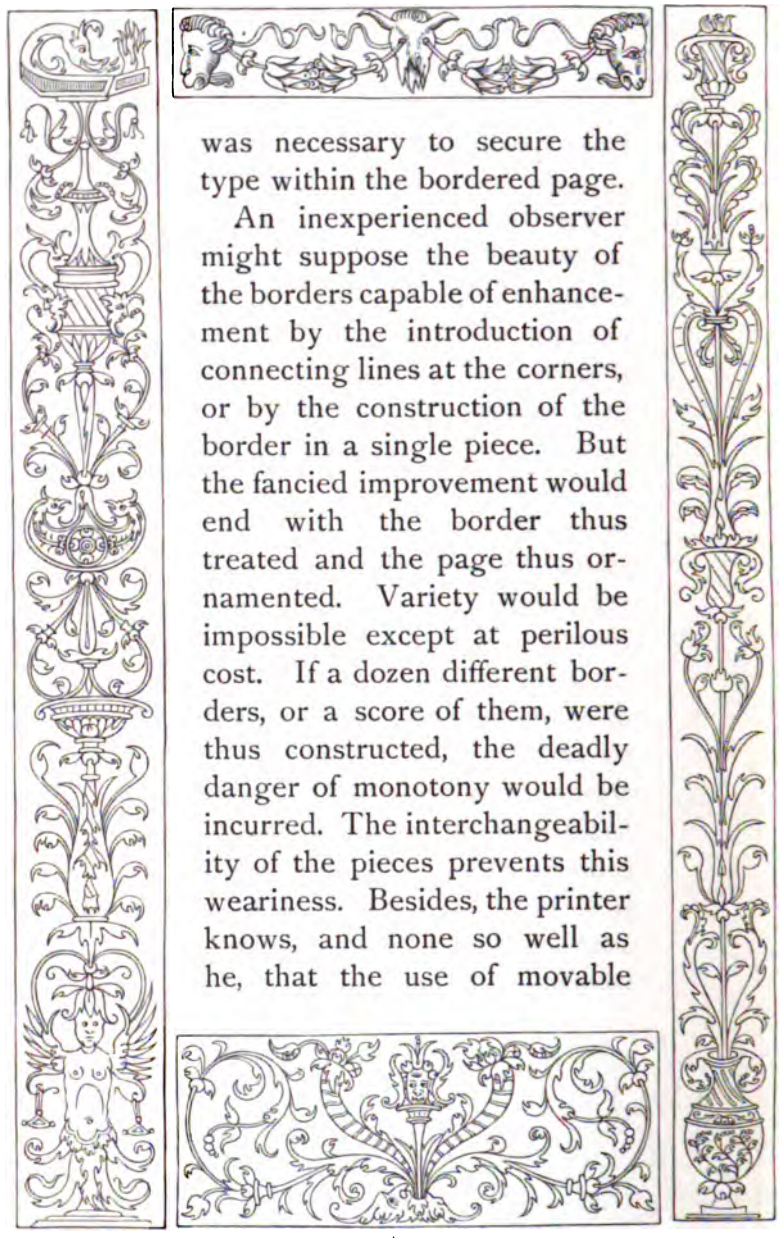
THE borders surrounding this page and the six pages which follow were made for an edition of the Book of Common Prayer, planned and printed by Whittingham the Nephew, and published by the Longmans. Four of the complete borders were designed for Geoffrey Tory by Pierre Woeiriot. Eight other borders in the same style were designed and drawn on the block with appropriate ecclesiological decorations by Miss Charlotte Whittingham.

It was mainly through the

influence of Geoffrey Tory that the somber Gothic style of type and ornamentation, which dominated book-making in France in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, was supplanted by Roman letter, by classical design, and by outline engraving. Tory wrote a book entitled "Champfleury," in which he defined the true proportions of letters, and he also formulated rules which are still observed for the correct use of French accents and for orthography. Tory made designs and initials for Vostre, Pigouchet, Colines, Estienne, and other notable French printers. That excellent Claude Garamond, "father of letter-founders," who gave to France the early distinction she acquired for good

types and good printing, was a pupil of the skilful Tory.

The good taste shown by Whittingham in selecting and adapting the Geoffrey Tory borders needs no commendation, but something may be said concerning the mechanical construction of the ornament. Each side is distinct is, in fact, as it appears in print, detachable from the other sides. This method of designing borders intended by combination to give variety to decorated pages was devised by the French printers of the sixteenth century. Nephew Whittingham revived and vigorously maintained the practice, for typographic not less than for artistic reasons. The mobility of each border-piece



was necessary to secure the type within the bordered page.

An inexperienced observer might suppose the beauty of the borders capable of enhancement by the introduction of connecting lines at the corners, or by the construction of the border in a single piece. But the fancied improvement would end with the border thus treated and the page thus ornamented. Variety would be impossible except at perilous cost. If a dozen different borders, or a score of them, were thus constructed, the deadly danger of monotony would be incurred. The interchangeability of the pieces prevents this weariness. Besides, the printer knows, and none so well as he, that the use of movable

types within mortised blocks involves a labor of great difficulty. Every page would be "out of square," and out of register. The impression and the color would be uneven. It is safe to say that a book so treated would never reach a second edition.

The undirected designer invariably draws upon a single block the border intended for a page of type. Thus he invites disaster, for no matter how carefully a block may be handled by the engraver, it is sure to warp or get "out of square" when it leaves his hands. Before the invention of electrotyping, the printer was compelled to mortise the hollow center of his border-block, and then wedge the type in the

mortise. After this unworkmanlike treatment the wedged types would get off their feet, swell the surrounding wood, and crack the border in one or perhaps several places. The arrangement of four or eight pages of type within as many mortised blocks liable to swell, warp, or crack with changing temperature was found impracticable before the close of the sixteenth century. To avoid these troubles with wood, certain early printers used engravings in relief on brass or type-metal. But the results were poor. Under any conditions the wedging of movable type within a mortised border will be regarded as bungling workmanship by all true craftsmen. Engravings on wood can

be successfully used with types only when they have been planned by the designer to be handled easily with the types. Like types, they must have squared bodies and be free to move in any direction, so that they can be firmly secured in the form. It was, no doubt, the general disinclination of early designers to conform to the mechanical conditions of typography which led to the premature degradation of engraving on wood, and to a general preference for the less troublesome but more expensive art of copper-plate. The possibilities of typographic decoration were most developed by men who best understood its limitations — by practical men like Kerver and Whittingham

—who printed books well because they planned them wisely.

The roman and italic types of Nephew Whittingham's Book of Common Prayer, printed for Longmans, are of the true Caslon old-style cut. The black-letter selected for the legends and the scriptural verses are of Flemish design, and, according to a specimen book issued by Enschedé, in 1768, this size of black-letter was cut by Fleischman, after the model of Van Dijk.

The borders of Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book were copied in the main from the edition of 1569, attributed to the printer John Day. Every page is ornamented with woodcuts from the designs of Dürer, Holbein, and other famous artists.

The chief priests and the scribes and the elders of the people consulted how
they might take Jesus by subtilty and kill him. But they said, &c. Mat. xxvi.
When Joseph's brethren saw him afar off, eben, &c. Gen. xxxvii.
Absalom rose up early, and stood hard by the way, &c. ii Sam. xv.

This border and the seven borders that follow were printed for Pickering, and were first used in the Queen Elizabeth Prayer Book, edition of 1853. The six cuts within this border are specimens of more than one hundred detached cuts that were engraved of fixed sizes, so that they could be used on any page.

Arise, and take the young child and his mother and flee into Egypt, and be thou

there until I bring thee word, for Herod will seek the child to destroy him. Mat. ii.

The Litany.

and comfort, all that are in danger, neceſſity and tribulation;

We beſeech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may pleaſe thee to preſerve all that travel by land or by water, all women labouring of child, all ſick perſons, and young children; and to ſhew thy pity upon all priſoners and captives;

We beſeech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may pleaſe thee to defend, and provide for, the fatherleſs children, and widows, and all that are deſolate and oppreſſed;

We beſeech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may pleaſe thee to have mercy upon all men;

We beſeech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may pleaſe thee to forgive our enemies, perſecutors, and ſlanderers, and to turn their hearts;

We beſeech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may pleaſe thee to give and preſerve to our uſe the kindly fruits of the earth, ſo as in due time we may enjoy them;

We beſeech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may pleaſe thee to give us true repentance; to forgive us all our ſins, neg-

Behold, thy brother Esau is comforted against thee. Gen. xxvii.

Michal spake unto David: If thou save not thyself, &c. 1. Sam. xix.

ligences, and ignorances; and to endue us with the grace of thy Holy Spirit to amend our lives according to thy holy Word;

We beſeech thee to hear us, good Lord.

Son of God: we beſeech thee to hear us.

Son of God: we beſeech thee to hear us.

O Lamb of God: that takeſt away the ſins of the world;

Grant us thy peace.

O Lamb of God: that takeſt away the ſins of the world;

Have mercy upon us.

O Chriſt, hear us.

O Chriſt, hear us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Chriſt, have mercy upon us.

Chriſt, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

¶ *Then ſhall the Prieſt, and the people with him, ſay the Lord's Prayer.*

OUR Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, As it is in heaven. Give us this

Moſes caſt the tables out of his hands and brake them. Exo. xxxii.

The Philiſtines find Dagon fallen down before the, &c. 1. Sam. v.

He ſhall break down their altars, he ſhall deſtroy their images. For now they

ſhall ſay, We have no king, becauſe we feared not the Lord, what, &c. Hoſea x.

The decorated typography is in the style of Kerver and Pigouchet and other Parisian printers, as exemplified by their Books of Hours during the last quarter of the fifteenth century. To please the taste of that time the printed Books of Hours were imitations, as far as black and white could make them, of illuminated manuscripts which were brave in gold and color, and which were adorned on every page with some new device. To print in gold and color, or even to provide a new design for every printed page, would have led to prodigality beyond reason; to engrave one design and repeat it on every page would have made the recurring decoration tedious. Thus the printer had to determine whether or not it was possible to obtain

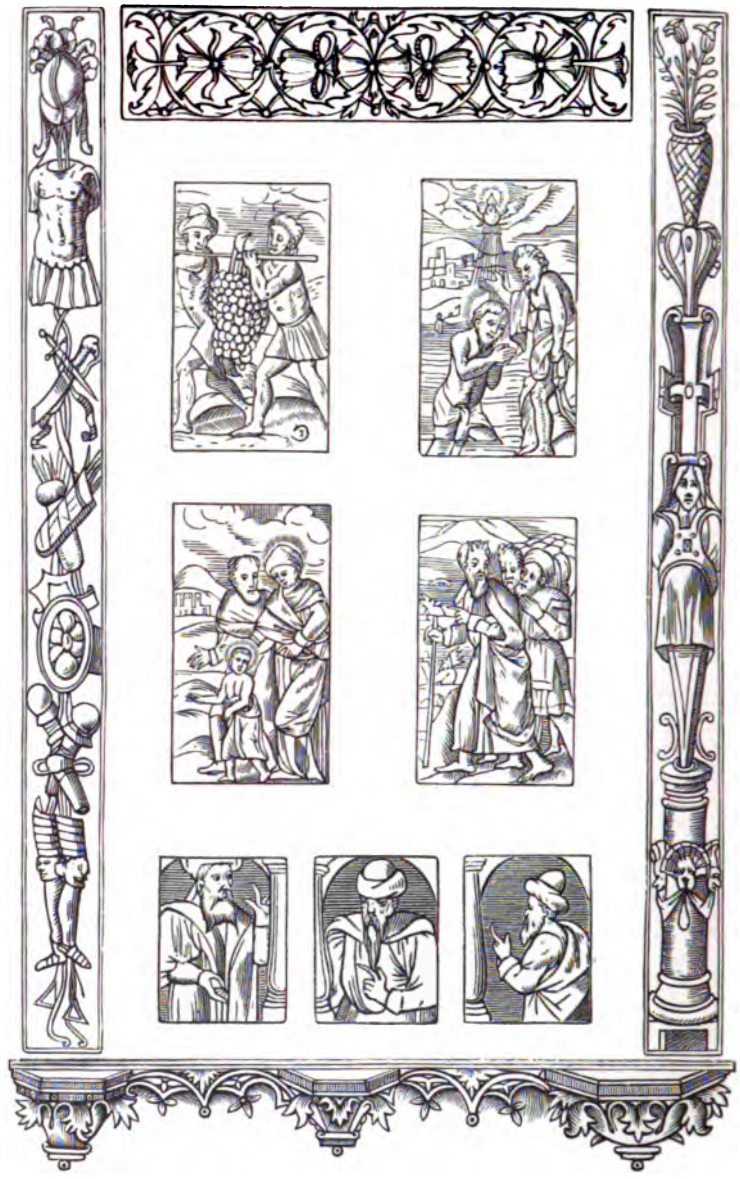
from engraved blocks the adaptability and interchangeability of movable types, so that they could be recombined in new positions and retain the semblance of variety. A printer in Haarlem had tried the experiment, but without success. His method was faulty, since each block depended upon another for its significance. His combined blocks showed the joints between points of meeting, and betrayed differences in shade and texture. The effect was that of clumsy patchwork.

The French printers, with more taste and skill, made each block independent, and surrounded it with a hair-line border, to further assert the independence. Their blocks were made of different sizes, but these sizes were so graduated that all could be com-

bined in borders, or any one could be used in the text as a separate illustration. One hundred blocks, or even more, made in this style did not involve a prohibitive expense. They could be rearranged for every page, and every page would thus present some feature of distinction. Treatment of this sort made the printed Books of Hours attractive as fair substitutes for the monkish manuscripts. The outline style of design and engraving was employed in them for two purposes: first, because it simplified the printer's task; second, because it presented to the purchaser an array of designs ready for coloring in the manner of the ancient tomes.

The Queen Elizabeth Prayer Book, as made by John Day, is, so far as I know, the only English

volume of the period in which this French style of decoration has been successfully maintained. All the designs in the original edition were faithfully copied for the Chiswick Press, but Nephew Whittingham did not think there were patterns enough to give a happy variety to the pages. Therefore his daughters, Elizabeth Eleanor and Charlotte, provided many new designs in the sturdy style of the originals. All the blocks were cut by Mary Byfield, and eight of them are presented here. Three are faithful facsimiles of the type as well as of the borders.



THE WOODCUTS

WOODCUTS in English books of the eighteenth century are always flat, dull, and monotonous. In chapbooks the flatness is due to rude engraving; in books of more pretense the defect comes from an unwise imitation of the style of the copper-plate engraver. Even when cut by the best engravers, the blocks show no proper contrasts of light and shade. To use the common term, they have no color. A gray fog hangs over every portion of the print. Nor is this monotony peculiar to English wood-

This border and the seven borders that follow were designed for Keble's "Christian Year" by Charlotte Whittingham and engraved by Mary Byfield.

cuts; it is even more pronounced in the work of the best French engravers of the eighteenth century.

The unskilful cutting of the chap-book engraver, and the over-elabo-

A common style of wood-engraving at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

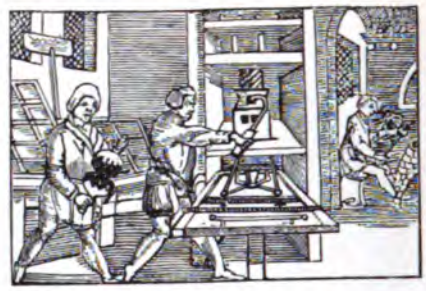
rated work of the servile copyist of the line-engraver's style, contributed to this lack of spirit; but the greatest mischief was done by bad printing. The defects in the materials and meth-

ods of the early printers are not now understood as clearly as they should be. We can better appreciate the value and the influence of the Whit-

French woodcut of 1768 by Lucé.

tinghams' work when we consider the conditions under which they labored. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century all woodcuts were printed di-

rect from the block on a wooden hand-press. Moxon, the printer who wrote the first important English book on typography, denounced the old press



A Hand-press of the sixteenth century.[1]

as long ago as 1683 as a "makeshift, slovenly contrivance."[2] What he called improved presses were certainly in use during the eighteenth century, but his descriptions of them fail to show us that they were properly made for printing woodcuts. The wooden frame of the press was pinned together with iron

1 From the "Ordenarye for Christians." Printed by Anthony Scoloker, London, c. 1550.

2 "Mechanick Exercises, or the Doctrine of Handy-works applied to the Art of Printing." By Joseph Moxon, 8vo, vol. ii, pp. 52–69.

Illustration of the style of engraving on wood that prevailed in ordinary books during the eighteenth century.

bolts and stays, and braced with stout beams against the ceiling of the shop. It was foreseen that the wood would shrink, and would require constant re-staying and rebracing. The bed, or flat table on which the types and cuts were laid to receive impression, was of slate or marble. The platen, or resisting surface that gave the impression, was of wood, and liable to warp, shrink, and crack. Between the platen and the bed were placed pieces of thick blanket to equalize the uneven impression that would be made when the stone bed was not in parallel with the warped or badly-hung platen. A deficient pressure in the center, or at any corner, was partially corrected by the spring of the blanket.

The fitting together of the different parts of the press was rude. Moxon practically admits that much of the power exerted by the pressman was lost. The screw that produced the impression gave a downward movement toward the platen of three quar-

ters of an inch, but not one eighth of this movement could be applied to the types.[1] Most of the power was dissipated in the compressible and badly-fitted joints of the press.

Provision had to be made in the construction of the press not only for its own irregular action, but for the irregularities of different heights of type. Type-founders had not agreed upon a uniform standard of height: the types of different founders varied, and every large printing-house had to use these unequal types.[2]

It was to remedy this defect that all printers used the elastic blanket, which could be forced into the depressions of low letters that could not otherwise be reached.

The old-fashioned hand-made paper was another obstacle to good work. It was usually of rough surface, and a

1 "Mechanick Exercises," vol. ii, p. 60.

2 The oldest printing-house in England, the University Press at Oxford, finds it expedient to continue the use of four distinct heights of type from moulds and matrices made by different workmen during the last three centuries.

single sheetwo uld be of varying thickness. It could be legibly printed only after it had been "wet-down," or dampened. The wetting-down was often badly done; some of the sheets were soggy, and others nearly dry. Even when properly moistened, the paper became so pliable and soft that it would lap over the sides of all fine lines in types and cuts, making them appear in print much thicker than the founder or the engraver had intended.

Thus, for more than three hundred years, the apparatus of printing comprised a shackly press, which gave an uncertain impression, and a rough but pliable paper that thickened the lines of the engraver. The contrivances that were devised for giving equal impression on every part of the printed sheet were made to correct the faults of irregular types, and were entirely unsuited to the proper printing of cuts.

The lightest shades and the exposed thin lines of a woodcut required a flat-surface impression of about one

pound to the square inch; the darkest shades demanded a pressure of fifty pounds or more. Between these extremes were gradations of shades in the block calling for unequal pressure which might vary from five to forty pounds to the square inch. Under the diffused pressure of the elastic blanket, the lighter lines that gave least resistance received the bulk of pressure. What wonder that woodcut printing with these primitive devices showed grayness, fogginess, and confusion of tints!

The early printers, quick to perceive the defects of their woodcut work, sought to remedy the faults. Kerver and Pigouchet began the reform by using smoother paper, and they had their type and their cuts made unusually flat on the faces and exact as to the height of the bodies. There is a presumption that they lowered the height of the lighter lines on the blocks, or that they used overlays to produce the unequal pressure demanded for dif-

ferent portions, and possibly they made their impressions against some comparatively inelastic, resisting surface, but there is neither record nor tradition of the means they employed. We have positive knowledge of one method only. They made their engravings conform to the weakness of the hand-press. They preferred, and chiefly used, cuts in which the designs were made with white lines on black or stippled backgrounds, and open cuts with firm outlines and conventional shadows. Either style could withstand equality of impression with the least injury to the effect. The use of white-line and open cuts was a practical confession that reforming printers were unable before the nineteenth century to radically improve the old methods. Finding it impracticable to change their methods they required the engravers to change their style of cutting.

Printers in all countries disliked and, when they could do so, avoided the use of woodcuts. If illustrations were desired or insisted upon, copper-plate engravings were preferred. Printing from copper-plates was a far more expensive process than printing from woodcuts, but it was the only process that gave really satisfactory results. Those practical type-founders and expert engravers in relief, Moxon (in 1683) and Fournier (in 1766), when writing on typography, pictured their tools and machinery exclusively with copper-plate prints. They could have engraved these simple illustrations on wood, but they knew that cuts in relief would not be properly printed.

Many attempts to improve woodcut work were made in England during the eighteenth century. The printer of Croxall's "Fables" (in 1722) seems to have been the first in the field. After him came Bewick, and then came

Bulmer of the Shakespeare Press. Bewick scored an early success as an engraver, but he complained of the unfair treatment received by his blocks at the hands of the printers. Bulmer was the first to win reputation as a skilful printer of woodcuts, but his success was probably won at too great a cost, since he did not long continue his strife for excellence. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, M°Creery, Savage, Ritchie, Johnson, and other London printers, did good work with woodcuts, but they did not prosper. Possibly these men improved the ancient methods of printing, but if they did so they failed to impart their knowledge to others. They invented nothing, cheapened nothing; and they did not remove from the minds of other printers the venerable conviction that woodcut printing was troublesome and unprofitable—a fight against mechanical difficulties in which failures were disastrous, and successes rare.

There was no real improvement in woodcut printing until inventive men improved the implements of the printer's trade and wholly changed the processes of paper manufacture. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century there were no presses except the creaking wooden ones. About 1800 an ingenious earl designed a hand-press scientific in construction and exact in effect. The Stanhope Press[1] amazed the printers. One of the first, if not the very first, craftsmen to employ this new machine was the Uncle Whittingham. Next came Fourdrinier's paper-making machine, which produced a texture of smooth surface and uniform thickness. We have noted how the Uncle Whittingham showed a practical interest in this mechanism; how he successfully established a

[1] See illustration on page 40 of this book.

paper-stock factory at Chiswick in 1809; and how the Chiswick Press came into being, hard by. And in the same decade we shall note the advent of stereotyping, and of the cylindrical printing-machine, neither device of any direct value at that time to the woodcut printer, but both serviceable in giving a new direction to the printer's efforts. But of no less value than these several new aids was the invention of the composition-roller, which enabled the printer to ink his types and cuts with nice discretion.

At the beginning of his business life the Uncle Whittingham, like most of his rivals, avoided woodcut work. Before the year 1800 woodcuts were rare in his books; after that date they increased rapidly. The cuts he then printed (made to the order of the publishers) not only gave him experience in presswork, but a knowledge of the adaptability of different styles of design and cutting to the newer methods of printing. When the time came for him to provide woodcuts in his own books he knew how they should be made. He has not told us of the difficulties that beset him in following the engravers, but his troubles must have been many and serious. Then, as now, few artists of reputation could be persuaded to draw on wood. Those who consented were more inclined to paint on the block than to draw upon it. In this way they made bad copy for the engraver, who groped in the dark over uncertain outlines and confused shadings. The printer blamed the engraver for shallow cutting; the engraver blamed the designer for thickening his block with blotches of paint, so that he could not tell whether he was cutting wood or paint; and the artist blamed the engraver and the printer for mutilating his designs. As the printer was the last person who handled the block, he

was always blamed for the sins of his predecessors. It was no light task to coax an artist to make his design so that it could be properly cut; to persuade an engraver to put upon the block no more work than was really needed; to compel a pressman to deftly reproduce the work of the engraver. Laboring apart, with small knowledge of and little regard for the needs of those who should have been coöperators, each workman was in the habit of doing as he pleased, and each was irritated by the suggestion of an alteration in his accustomed method.

The Uncle Whittingham's first efforts to secure improved engraving seem to have been directed against the flatness and grayness of the ordinary woodcut. Bewick had shown in his blocks the value of patches of solid black, and of high lights and gradations of tint that gave the full rounded octave of color; but his teachings had been timidly followed. One by one Bewick's pupils and successors drifted back to the old channels. Finically sharp and exposed hair-lines, overworked shadows, and even the cross-hatchings of copper-plate, were more carefully imitated in the second quarter of the nineteenth century than they had ever been before. Many designers of that period regarded strong contrasts of black and white as inartistic. In their view the development of an illustration by means of intermediate tints was a more masterly performance. They persisted in this style, although they must have known that the wet paper and the spongy blanket used by all printers tended to thicken and blend the intermediate tints.

What the Uncle Whittingham actually did in his office for the improvement of woodcut printing we cannot know in detail. We may be sure, though, that he did

not discard wet paper or the woolen blanket, because the effects produced by these ancient friends are apparent in the crumbly and broken hair-lines of outlined clouds or exposed pencil scrabble. These lines are lighter and more delicate than those made by rival printers, but they show unmistakably that they were produced by an elastic impression. The patches of velvety black that are brought out in force show also that the Uncle used finer and cleaner inks than his competitors, and that he derived every advantage and mitigated every disadvantage pertaining to the woolen blanket. No doubt the blanket was of the finest broadcloth, and the tympan of the thinnest vellum. Stories about these, and other refinements of practice, were listened to with wonder by printers in their youth as explanations of the methods by which the elder Whittingham achieved his brilliant results.

The illustrations that won for him most distinction—the Northcote "Fables," of 1833; "The Tower Menagerie," of 1829; "The Gardens and Menagerie," of 1830 and 1831—are vivid with sharp contrasts of black and white. Nowadays no one can say whether this treatment was suggested by designer, engraver, or printer; but the evidence is that in the making of these books the designers, engravers, and printer worked together with zeal. The illustrations are not servile facsimiles of the original pencil-sketch and india-ink wash, nor are they imitations of line-engraving. They are honest and intelligent efforts on the part of the artists to aid the printer, and to meet the conditions of the printing craft as it was then practised. For the smoothness of the tints, and the brilliancy of the impressions, Whittingham was largely indebted to the iron hand-press then in general use. The presswork

of these books could never have been done on the old-fashioned wheezy hand-press; nor could the cuts have been properly printed on the rough hand-made paper of the previous century.

The woodcut printing of the Chiswick Press was highly appreciated, but the quantity done was relatively small. Collectors of "Chiswicks" are often surprised at Whittingham's apparent preference for copper-plate work. Line engravings are more frequent than woodcuts as frontispieces to titles. Even in the admirable edition of Walton's "Angler," of 1836, engravings on copper are frequently printed on the pages that are usually reserved for types.[1] The cost of engraving and of double printing must have been very much more than that of printing from wood in association with type. The reticent Whittingham never told why he sent outside for copper-plate printing, when in his own shop he could produce excellent impressions from the wood. But experienced printers who know the difficulties of woodcut presswork can divine his reason. Woodcut printing was unprofitable, even at the highest remuneration then current. There were few pressmen who could do the work properly. Unless they had instinctive appreciation of form and perspective, of light and shade, it was useless to instruct them in overlaying. They could spoil blocks, but they could not print them. In all probability the best woodcut printing of the Chiswick Press was done by not more than three or four pressmen, and their success was largely due to the daily oversight of the master. Considering the slowness and costliness of the work, and the necessity for devoting much time to its supervision, we

[1] See edition of 1836, vol. i, pages 113, 122, and others.

can understand why Whittingham often chose copper-plate instead of wood-block illustrations.

The rapid development of the changed style in wood-engraving brought new difficulties to the printer. At no earlier time did London claim so many able engravers on wood as Clennell, Thompson, Branston, Nesbit, Williams, Jackson, Linton, Harvey and their fellow experts who charmed the public eye in 1830 and afterward. But these engravers were in advance of the time. They could engrave better than printers could print. All of them had the same desire to cut their blocks finely and delicately, and to show, with not less perfection than the brush could bring, minutest gradations of shade. On India paper, and sometimes on hot-pressed paper, it was possible for the printer to reproduce exactly all the fine work of the engraver; on the ordinary paper of commerce, usually provided by the publisher, and often against the protest of the printer, this nicety was impossible.

There are many evidences—of which the presentation plate of the "Anniversary" (of 1829), the "St. Barbara" and the "Madonna," copied from an illustrated missal, are good examples—that the Uncle Whittingham reproduced to their entire satisfaction the work of the best engravers. But printing of that kind must have earned him honor at a loss of cash; so, as a thrifty man, he did no more of it than he thought expedient. The never-ending difficulty of finding designers, engravers, and pressmen who would work together in sympathy led him to abandon gradually the graven reproduction of eminent artists' work.

oulcedame de mi
cericozde mere de pi
tie fontame de ton
biens qui portastes nostre seig

Iutelto ſancte barbare ci b
guus e martyus. Dño.

Exaudi nos de
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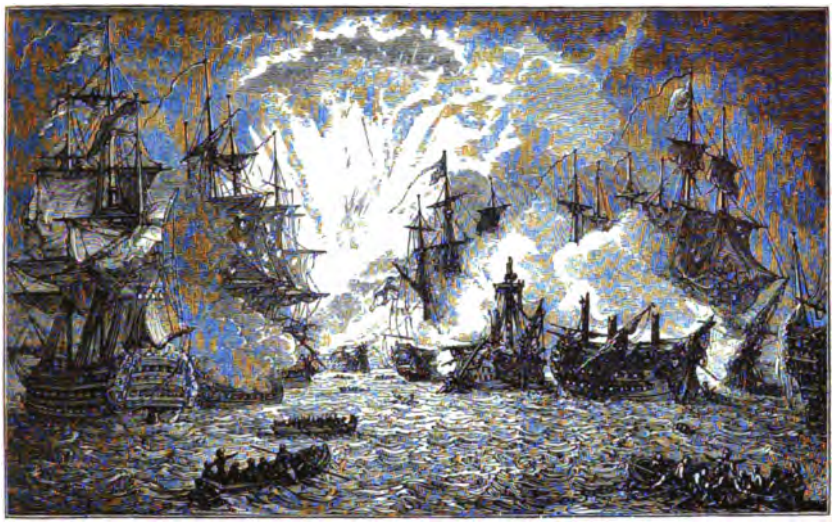
Per dñm Lectio prima

Barbara uero nu
comedie ortaſi
lia dioſcori nob
his ſed pagam propter emi
nam pulchitudinem a
pie-tuo in turri forti et
eminenti collocatur Ibi de
aute turmas fieri conſti
tuit ut ibi barbara ſe lau

The woodcuts of the "Madonna" and the "St. Barbara," on pages 283 and 285, first appeared in "A Handbook of the Art of Illumination as practised during the Middle Ages," by Henry Shaw, F. S. A., London, 1866. This book was Shaw's last important work.

The "Madonna" is described as "The Virgin and Child, attended by angels." It was reproduced from a manuscript copy (c. 1480) of the Offices of the Virgin then in the possession of Edwin Henry Lawrence, F. S. A. This volume was formerly in the library of H. R. H. the Duke of Sussex, at whose sale it was purchased for £235 (see "Bibliotheca Sussexiana," vol. i, part 1, p. 185). In the sale of the manuscripts of the late Mr. Lawrence, by order of the executors, it was lot 303 in Sotheby's Catalogue of May 9, 1892, and was sold for £330. This book, justly described by the duke's librarian as "the most exquisite of all the illuminated works of the kind I have ever seen," is now in the library of Mr. Robert Hoe of New York. The picture of the "Madonna" was engraved by Joseph L. Williams, and the border by James D. Cooper.

The "St. Barbara" is from a copy of the Hours of the Virgin which formerly belonged (c. 1490) to Isabella of Castile, wife of Ferdinand II of Spain. It is now in the British Museum (Breviarium Romanum, Additional Manuscripts, 18,851). A description of the miniatures in this volume will be found in Dibdin's "Bibliographical Decameron," vol. i, p. clxiii, and in Dr. Waagen's "Treasures of Art in Great Britain," vol. i, p. 131. Henry Shaw's copy of the "St. Barbara" was engraved by James D. Cooper.



From the "Life of Nelson," by Robert Southey. Edition of 1830.

OVERLAYING

THE difficulties of woodcut printing are but little understood outside the press-room. Printing from copper or stone does not require the tedious making ready that precedes all proper printing from wood. Proper materials having been furnished to a lithographer or a plate-printer, presswork can begin at once. Overlays are not needed; the force required for a proper impression is made even everywhere. It is only when employed on fine etchings that the printer must be deft in wiping off surplus ink. Impression on copper or stone, even when made with great force, does not thicken the fine lines, and does not indent the paper.

Woodcut printing is squarely opposed to lithographic or copper-plate printing in its theory and process. To get a good print from an engraving on wood, the impression must be uneven. Sharp exposed lines must have little, and the solid blacks must have great pressure. There must be a proportionate gradation of pressure for the paler and darker grays. This is best obtained by overlaying, that is, by fixing to the impression-giving surface bits of paper of different shapes, carefully cut and of varying thicknesses, so that each part of the cut shall get the pressure it needs and no more. To print a woodcut without overlays is always disastrous; the print and the block are spoiled. The different shadings of ordinary woodcuts call for irregular pressure on each shade, varying from one pound to forty pounds to the square inch. If presswork begins with a uniform pressure of but one pound, the blacks will not show, and the darker grays will become blurred; if the pressure be increased to forty pounds, the light lines will become heavy, and the pale grays will become murky. Even pressure gives the poorest results, and soon destroys the block.

The overlay, which is the necessary complement of the woodcut, must be made by the printer. Not even the engraver of the block can correctly determine the different thicknesses of an overlay. It must be made by one who has a thorough practical knowledge of printing, and specific knowledge of the press, paper, ink, and type to be used. A simple overlay for a very small block can be cut in a few minutes; a large overlay may occupy a skilled workman for five hours or more. But the work is not complete when the overlay has been properly made and properly affixed to the impression-giving surface.

The first proof taken from a form of type in which the block has been placed will show that the proper adjustment of an uneven pressure upon the block has made the impression on the type irregular. A readjustment of pressure upon the type must be made, and by a similar method. This requires time. To overlay the blocks and properly make ready a form of eight pages, as in "The Tower Menagerie," at least five hours must have been required on the simplest form. Over some of the forms Whittingham may have labored more than twenty hours before he began to print. In other words, from five to twenty hours must be given to the printer's preparation of fine woodcuts before any printing can be properly done. During this time the press must be idle, but the wages of the pressman must go on. To put the case in another way, it costs the master printer as much to properly make ready a form for woodcuts as it would cost him to print from one to three thousand impressions from a form of types only. The cost of fine woodcut printing is necessarily twice, thrice, or even four times as much as that of type printing. It follows that this increased cost will be paid only when the printer or publisher is assured that he can sell the printed matter at a corresponding advance in price.

The Whittinghams wrote and said nothing that has come to us about their experience in woodcut printing, but expert examination of their workmanship shows that this experience must have been unpleasant. There is reason for the belief that their woodcut work was a labor of love, and not of profit. They gave to it an amount of time, care, and risk out of all proportion to the cost. It was gratifying, no doubt, to be praised for the best

printing, but it could not have been gratifying to know that the expense of woodcut work always equaled and sometimes exceeded its market value.

It is possible that Whittingham the Nephew may have questioned the real value of a style of woodcutting that made such exactions on the printer. Why should the printer be required to carve a low relief in paper to supplement the work of the engraver? Was this printing or carving? When he received, as he often did, a block with the engraver's proof on translucent India paper, showing the engraving with dishonest effects produced by a false back-light; when he knew that the inking and rubbing of one proof only of that block had occupied a full hour of the engraver's time; when he saw that white lines cut too wide had been partially closed with a loading of ink, and thin lines cut too broad had been made gray and weak by wiping off the ink, he may well have doubted the ability of his pressman to print equally well six or eight of these blocks on one sheet in a fiftieth part of the time. Yet this was the demand of the engraver and the publisher. The printer must "bring out" all the effects of the sophisticated proof, even if they were not in the block. To bring out these effects—a term that in itself implies subterfuge—the printer must supplement the work of the engraver, not only by overlays, but by an extra painting of the blacks, and a wiping off of the paler grays. Was this printing or a new method of pastel painting? It certainly was deceptive work, and a straightforward mechanic approached it with almost as much distaste as he would have for any other form of deception. He was asked to work out of his proper field; to work in conscious violation

of established mechanical laws, knowing the while that he, and not the engraver, would be made the scapegoat if all the defects of the engraved block were not skilfully concealed.

There is a tradition in the Whittingham family that Charles the Uncle was the first of his craft to practise overlaying. Collectors of the Whittingham books have helped to keep life in the legend. It is worth while for the reputation of Uncle and Nephew, and for the satisfaction of all fellowcraftsmen and book-lovers who come after them, to discover, if one can, the actual rather than the legendary influence exerted by these two men upon the customs of their calling. Printers well informed in the history of their craft may doubt the assertion which Whittingham enthusiasts are inclined to make that Charles the Uncle was the first to teach the world how wood-engraving should be printed. Mr. Theo. L. De Vinne, without whose wise and generous counsel I could scarcely have carried my task to its completion, gravely doubts the accuracy of the proud tradition. His examination of the Books of Hours printed by Kerver and Pigouchet in the first quarter of the sixteenth century leads him to the conclusion that these cunning Frenchmen practised the lowering of light lines, or the overlaying of the black portions of a graven block, and that they may, indeed, have done both these things. Papillon, too, in his exhaustive treatise on engraving,[1] advises the lowering of the block in all spots where feeble lines will meet an excess of pressure. Bulmer, during his appren-

[1] "Traité Historique et Pratique de la Gravure en Bois," Paris, 1766, 2 vols., 8vo, tome ii, p. 363. Further details are given in the Supplement, vol. ii, pp. 55–57, but the methods recommended are coarse and crude.

ticeship at Newcastle, gave Bewick the same advice. Bulmer, profiting perhaps by counter-suggestions from Bewick, had earned a reputation for fine printing, both from types and cuts, before the elder Whittingham had begun his best work. His "Shakespeare" of 1791–1802 was declared by Dibdin to mark "an epoch in British typography." His "Milton" (1794–1797) was even a better achievement. His "Poems by Goldsmith and Parnell" (1795) shows much ability in overlaying wood-cuts. Millar Ritchie was doing excellent work in 1795–1796, and Corrall, printer for Pickering before Nephew Whittingham became so intimately associated with the renowned bookseller, was a meritorious workman. Granting these men their due, yet the fact remains that Charles Whittingham the Uncle was the first English printer to devote himself to fine bookwork with system and success. Charles Whittingham the Nephew followed his example. These two printers acquired reputation slowly, and they kept it to the end because they were diligent workers, and because they thoroughly understood every part of their craft and united a hearty love for it with a shrewd business sense.

A scrutiny of the devices suggested or practised by early engravers to prevent the flatness of prints from blocks reveals the imperfections of early methods. Papillon cut down or lowered the surface of the block to be engraved in every part where he proposed to put very light lines, and where it would, unless so protected, receive an excess of ink and impression. This done, he engraved on this lowered surface the thin and sharp lines. Where lines had been cut too thin and sharp, he flattened their surfaces, by carefully scraping them down

until they were of the breadth required. This made the surface of the block still lower and still more uneven. To diminish the great labor of engraving cross-hatched lines, he proposed to engrave two sets of blocks, one with parallel lines running in one direction, the other with similar parallels in a cross direction. The block was to be perfected by two printings, so that the first set of parallels should be crossed by the parallels of the second block. This method, which put the added labor on the printer, was to be applied, not only to cross-hatchings, but to tints of delicacy. Bewick approved of this method. His last block, "Waiting for Death," which he left unfinished, was planned for a printing in black from two blocks. The theory was correct, but it was impossible to put it in practice. No hand-press then made could produce the exact register that was required.

In these devices one can readily see why good engravers should have been dissatisfied with the printed results of their work. How much of the dissatisfaction was due to unskilled printing, to roughness of paper, to meanness of ink, or to the tremors of the old-fashioned hand-press, and how much to the unwise attempts of the engraver to force relief-work into an unnatural channel, need not now be considered. It is enough to record that neither reader, engraver, nor printer was satisfied with prints from wood blocks, and that the most troublesome expedients were suggested or made use of to secure even a mediocre performance.

Some of the early engravers did not hesitate to resort to wilful deception. Papillon is explicit in his indictment of the cheat. "Some engravers on wood practise a secret way of fabricating proofs of their engravings, making

them deceptive and more delicate than they really are in the block. This is the trick that they practise in order to produce good enough proofs from mediocre engraving. They begin by taking two or three proofs, and then to fabricate another that will please their fancy, and yet produce the desired imposition, they ink only those parts of the block that have dark shadings, and leave untouched with ink the lighter lines and the distant perspective which still retains a little of the ink left on the wood after the previous impressions. The new proof so made is exceedingly delicate in every line that has not received new ink, and is very pleasing to the eye; but when the block is sent to press with type about it, the impressions therefrom show the lines as they really are in the block, and entirely different from those presented in the artist's proof. The printed lines are hard, uniform in color, without delicacy; the distant perspective is sometimes darker and bolder than objects in the foreground. I do not hesitate to say that the three Le Sueurs have practised this deception."[1]

The testimony of Jackson and Chatto is of value:

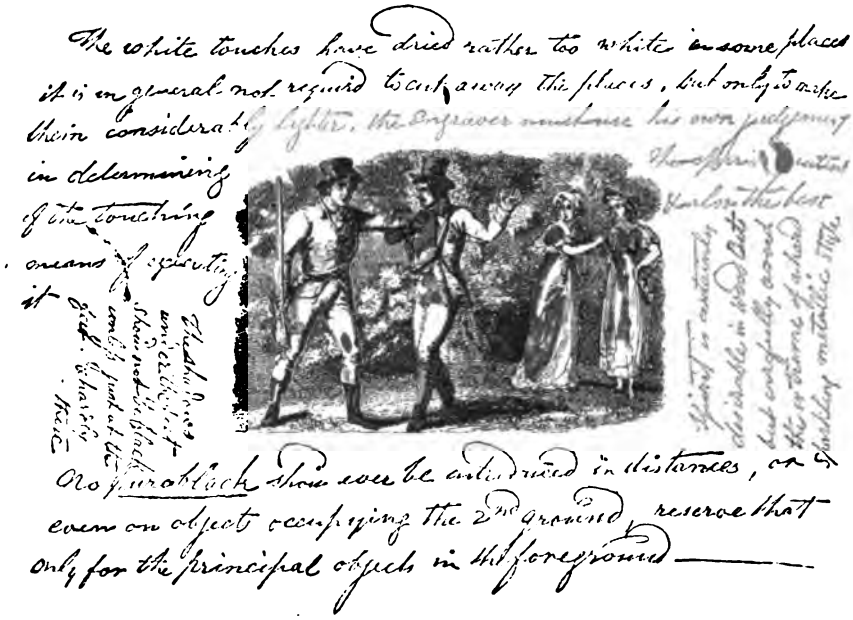
"The Lyons 'Dance of Death,' of 1538, affords several instances of blocks lowered in this manner, not only toward the edges, but also in the middle of the cut, whenever it was necessary that certain delicately engraved lines should be lightly printed, and thus have the appearance of gradually diminishing till their extremities should be scarcely distinguishable from the paper on which they are impressed. Numerous instances of this practice are frequent in woodcuts executed from 1540 to the decline of the art in the seventeenth century. Lowering was also practised by the engraver of the cuts in Croxall's 'Æsop';

[1] "Traité Historique et Pratique de la Gravure en Bois," tome ii, page 365.

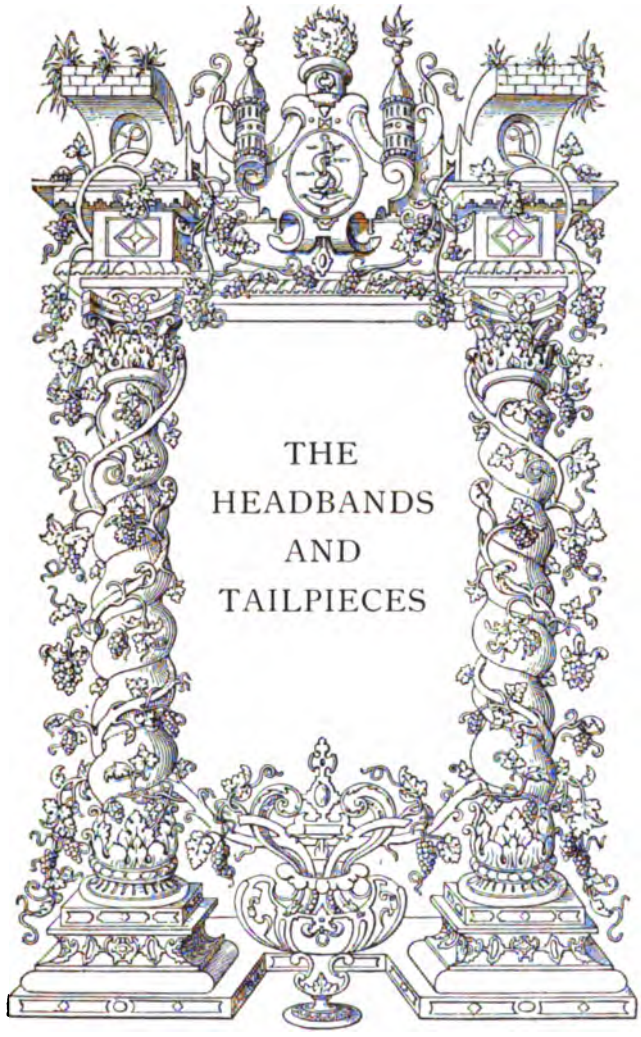
by Thomas Bewick, who acquired a knowledge of wood-engraving without a master; and by the self-taught artist [Edward Dyas] who executed the cuts in Alexander's 'Expedition down the Hydaspes,' by Thomas Beddoes, printed in 1792, but never published. As the same practice has been recently claimed as an 'invention,' it would seem that some wood-engravers are either apt to ascribe much importance to little things, or are singularly ignorant of what has been done by their predecessors."[1]

Jackson is confident that the superior printing of the engraved work which he specifies was due to the lowering of the surface of the block by the engraver. This is the method preferred by all nineteenth-century engravers on wood, and Jackson assumed that lowering must have been the method adopted by early printers to attain the same end, for the early prints do not unequivocally reveal the method used. Delicacy in sharp and exposed lines could have been produced by cutting-out and overlaying. Every careful pressman, whether of the fifteenth or the nineteenth century, was soon taught by his own practice that the bolder parts of a cut needed much, and the lighter parts but little pressure; that greater blackness could be given where it was needed by means of an overlay; and that feebleness or delicacy could be had by diminishing the pressure. The proper combination of these opposite processes on the same cut was always troublesome; it could be properly made by a skilled workman only, and for that reason overlaying and cutting-out were rarely done, but it does not follow that the method was unknown because it was adjudged difficult, and because it was too expensive to be practised on ordinary work.

[1] Jackson and Chatto, "Treatise on Wood Engraving," page 462. Second edition, London, 1861.


The white touches have dried rather too white in some places
it is in general not required to take away the places, but only to make
their considerably lighter. the Engraver must use his own judgment
in determining
of the touching
means of effecting
it
No general rule can be laid down in distances, or
even an object occupying the 2nd ground reserve that
only for the principal objects in the foreground

Comments written in pencil by Whittingham the Uncle on the submitted proof of an engraving on wood. The brush-dabs of dark color on this proof are the "white touches" mentioned in the writing when the proof was returned to the engraver. These white touches have since turned brown in the proof.



The Title Border to Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Dying," 1840

From Papillon.

From the specimen book of Lucé, 1768.

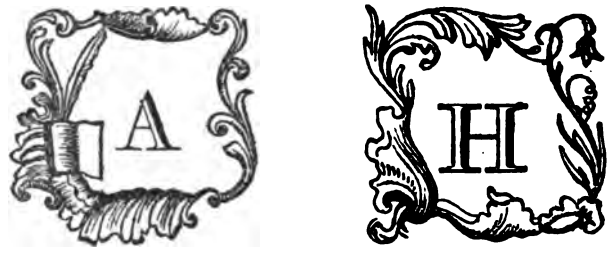
From the "Life of Nelson," by Robert Southey. Edition of 1830.

THE HEADBANDS AND TAILPIECES

IT WAS not difficult for the Whittinghams to reject unsuitable pictorial engravings on wood, but it was quite difficult to devise decorations in another style that would make a book really attractive. Then, as now, readers preferred books of belles-lettres that presented some relief to the monotony of type. A book entirely without illustration or decoration, with broad expanses of white paper at every chapter head and tail, was too severely simple; it was really as bleak and forbidding as a prairie covered with snow. The early printers had tried to meet this severity by providing flourished initials, headbands, borders, and tailpieces for the ghastly blanks. During, and subsequent to, the

period of degeneration in wood-engraving, decorations engraved on copper were added to books after the text had been printed, but they were too expensive for ordinary volumes. Some printers returned to the use of relief-engraving, and they had initials and headbands cut for every book of value. Hundreds of these ornaments may be seen in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, and in the collection of the Oxford University Press. These woodcuts had the disadvantage of unalterable length and height; they were designed for a certain width of page and a certain size of type, and could seldom be used to advantage for other sizes.

The degradation of typographic taste in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is most forcibly shown in the altered appearance of the typographic decorations in fashion during that period. Instead of clean, carefully-drawn, and well-cut lines or letters, relieved by simple and graceful lines of decoration, the designers produced fantastic forms of incongruous rococo ornamentation.



From the specimen book of J. Enschedé, 1786.

The angular German text capitals, and the interlaced basket patterns of the Dutch founders were equally acceptable.

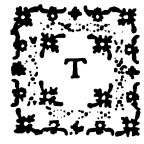
From the specimen book of J. Enschedé, 1786.

From the collection of the Oxford University Press.

Initial letters of the eighteenth century, from
Reed's "English Letter Founders."

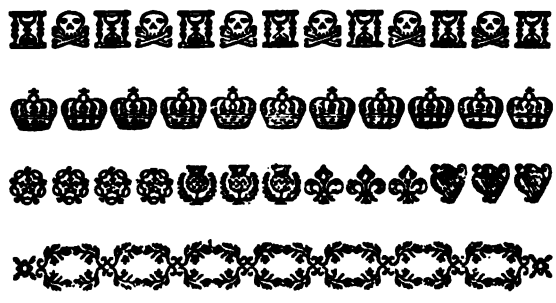
At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the hollow initial letter came in favor. In this style a large floral or pictorial border was used, with a small square space in its center, in which any capital letter could be put. The same border could be used for all letters of the alphabet. The initial so constructed was monotonous, and when it became wearisome it went out of fashion. At the close of the eighteenth century initials of all kind were held in light esteem. The best books of that period, and for some time thereafter, were either printed with the "cock-up" initial, a letter which projected above the ordinary capital, or the regular two-line or three-line initial, which spanned two or three lines of the text. All decorations, excepting those of a pictorial sort, were discarded in serious books.

The old-fashioned initials and headbands were not applicable to general work. Their blocks might be too large or too small; their designs often contained pictorial embellishments which unfitted them for the text. Even the injudicious would be startled by the incongruity of graven capering goats, monkeys, and unclean beasts and birds at the head of a homily. Readers had outgrown crude medieval eccentricities; they asked for appropriate book decoration, or, at least, for decoration that was unobjectionable. The type-founders undertook to supply this want. They began with a timid imitation of the ornaments which had been used with success by the famous bookbinders of Paris. For this purpose they cut and cast assortments of crowns, roses, harps, miters, diadems, myrtles, wreaths, indeed an almost endless array of symbolic devices. Most of these things were servile copies of bookbinders' stamps — flat lines without



Headbands and initials in Luckombe's "History of Printing." Edition of 1771.

shading or perspective. The type-founder of the period did not seem to understand that conventional emblems made to be stamped in light gold on dark leather would not have a pleasing effect when printed in black ink on rough paper. But it does not appear that any printer of the time objected to these devices. The emblems were accepted eagerly, and so were the type-founders' alleged flowers, or bits of ornament that had been designed for combination with border-pieces. Never were there more forbidding decorations than the "flowers" manufactured by the type-founders of the seventeenth century. With their metal devices the printers used to construct headbands and tailpieces known as "facs," a term which, according to the ingenious Rowe Mores in his dissertation on "English Founders and Founderies," derives from "factotum," itself a term employed by early printers to denote that these border-pieces could be combined for any service in book-decoration. These melancholy examples of perverted ingenuity were common in British books during the middle of the eighteenth century. Luckombe, in his "History of Printing," makes use of them for the headbands and tailpieces of his book, and also exhibits



"Flowers" from Luckombe's "History of Printing." Edition of 1771.

Headbands from the specimen book of Caslon, 1786.

many large combinations of flowers as ornaments that could be constructed from the flowers of the Caslon Foundry. It is a sorry exhibition of taste.

The taste of the French type-founders was no better. To be sure, they did not use "facs" quite so freely, but they reveled in emblems and flowers. They offered for sale a vast variety of type-metal headbands and tail-pieces which were duplicates from engravings on wood in the most extravagant style. There is a riot of these things in the thin quarto specimen book of Louis Lucé, type-founder to King Louis XV. The King's type-founder considered these gauds the perfection of art. He proclaimed them unapproachable by any other foundry in the world. He assured the possible buyer that all the pieces had been cut in the best style of the copperplate engraver. And indeed the grayness, the flatness, the stiffness, and the general feebleness of Monsieur Lucé's treasures are unapproachable.

The "facs" of the British founder, and the "mosaiques" and other strange fancies of the industrious Lucé, never found favor with Nephew Whittingham, who had a pure taste and a practical mind. He was not misled. He saw possibilities of success in a field where others had failed. He resolved to decorate his books, but to do so in his own way, with the aid of designers and engravers whom he could select and control. There he showed his wit. If he had left the designing and engraving entirely to others, or had even followed their lead, he would have been disappointed.

The Nephew profited by the experience of the Uncle. He determined at the beginning of his business career that his woodcuts should be decorative only. Pictorial

illustrations which cost more than the text, which set forth the ideals of the artist rather than those of the author or the publisher, and which sometimes really belittled the text, were, in his opinion, unwise additions to any book. The style of engraving that had been approved in one generation was out of fashion in the next; the garments and the attitudes of persons in a picture of 1790 were absurd in a print of 1825. Two styles only — the classic and the oriental — never became old-fashioned and never lost their charm when properly presented. Of these two styles, that school of oriental art which prohibited the representation of man, bird, or beast, and confined the designer to the making of graceful but unmeaning lines, had proved most enduring for decorative purposes.

The Continental printers of the second Whittingham's time were reviving the old fashion of pure decorative work in the forms of borders, headbands, initials, and tailpieces. In Germany there was a preference for ragged and intricate initial letters; in France, for eccentric and overworked borders and headbands. All these things required a deal of labor in engraving, and considerable expense in printing. Most of the designs were complex. They were intended to show the skill of the engraver rather than to grace the author's thought and the printer's choice of type. This new fashion of surcharging a book with the filigree and frippery of woodcutting had already been taken up by English printers, to the displeasure of Nephew Whittingham, whose taste was to provide engraved decorations which mated with the types both in color and expression, and which could be printed as easily as the types, requiring,

therefore, little or no overlaying. With his usual good sense the Nephew went to the fountain-head for suggestions or motives. He studied, and caused to be copied, or adapted, the decorative designs of the masters of the fifteenth century. His selections of the Tory borders, and of the Holbein and Dürer designs, in the Queen Elizabeth Prayer Book show an enlightened taste. And, when we consider the florid habit of his era, we may doubt whether Nephew Charles could have found any eminent artist willing to reproduce, or even to adapt, the exquisite designs of his simple choice.

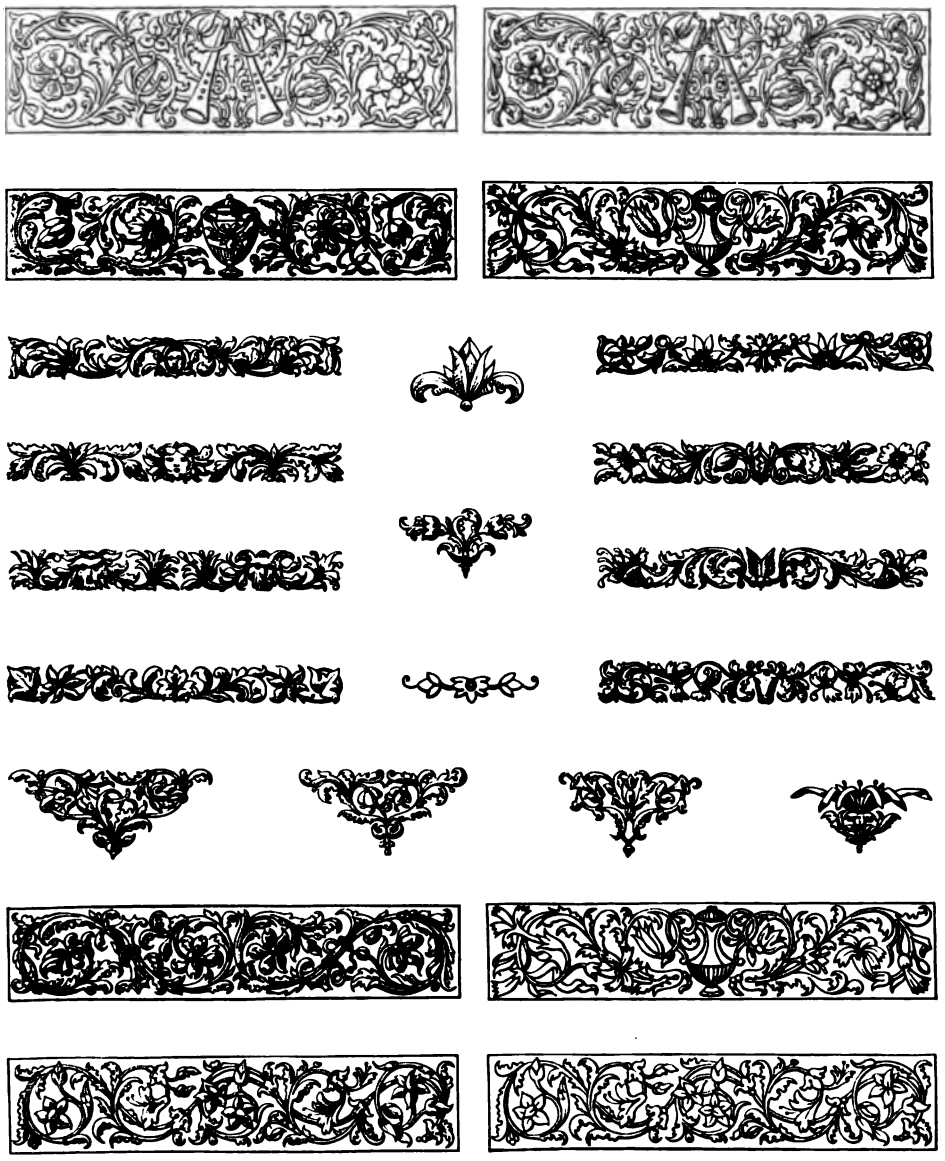
It was the variety and the beauty of these little decorations that gave to Nephew Charles's work much of its distinction. The undefinable charm of good taste can be seen in all his ornamented books. Contrast these volumes with the works of rival French and German printers, and note the fullness of your satisfaction in the simplicity of Whittingham's selection. Many years have passed since Nephew Charles's daughters ceased to design, and since Mary Byfield laid down the graver. There have been, and there are now, able designers of book-decoration, but there is no printer in any country who can show a series of volumes in which there are so many careful, beautiful, and simple decorative schemes as in the books of the Chiswick Press. Yet how few are those who understand that the merit of the Chiswick performance was due to the accord of printer, designer, engraver, and publisher working to a common end!

Designed by Charlotte Whittingham. Engraved by Mary Byfield.

Engraved for W. Pickering.

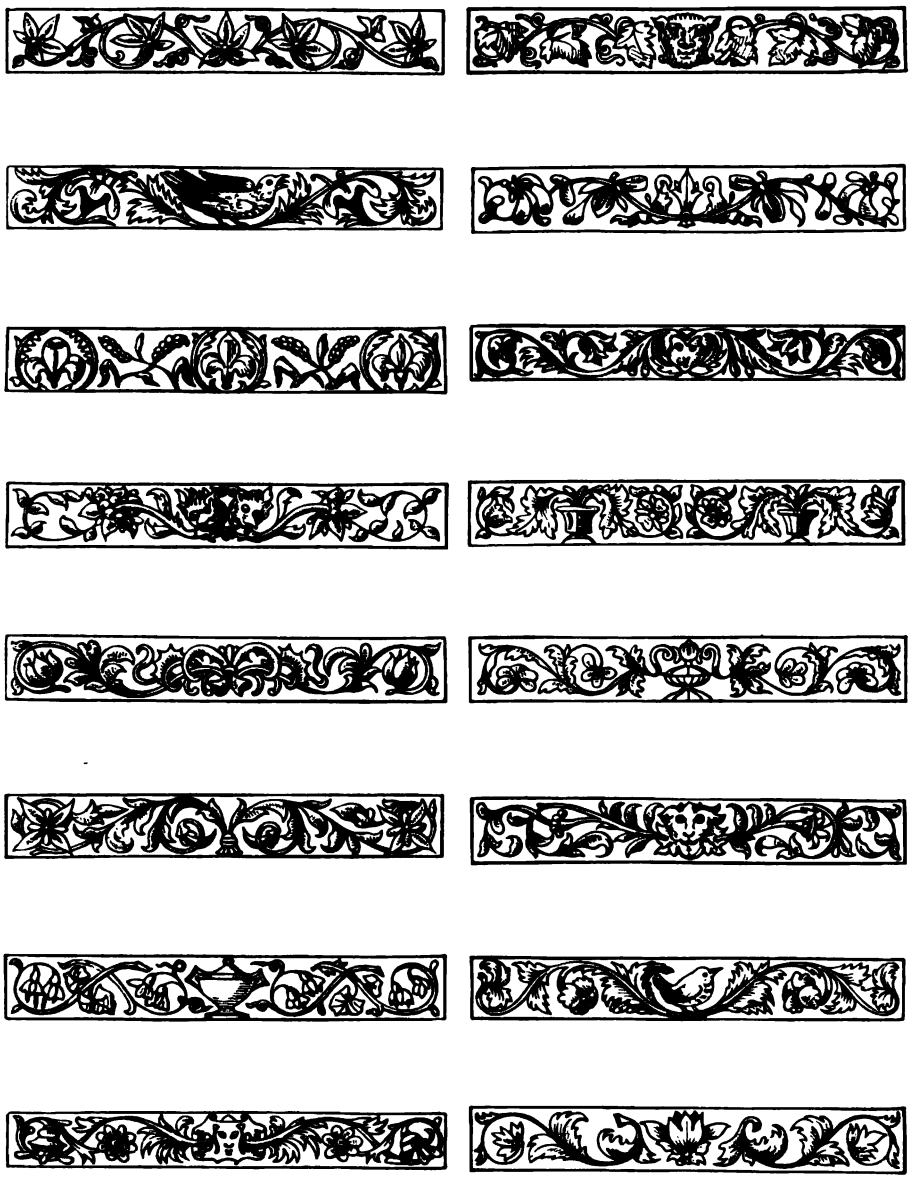
Drawn and engraved for W. Pickering.
Artist and engraver unknown.

Reduction of Stothard's picture.
Engraved for W. Pickering.

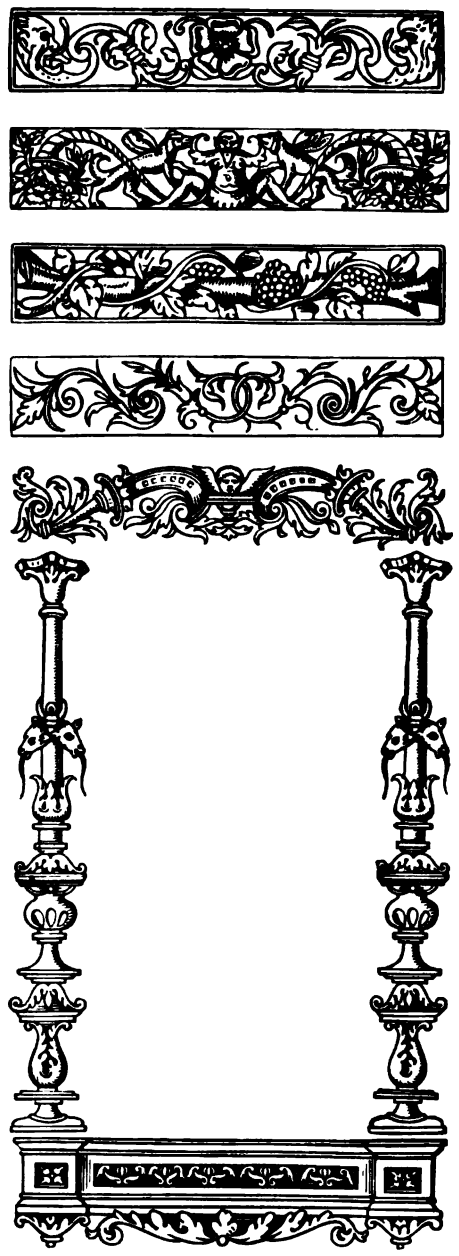


Designed by Charlotte Whittingham. Engraved by Mary Byfield.
First used in Bell and Daldy's Elzevir and Pocket Volume series.

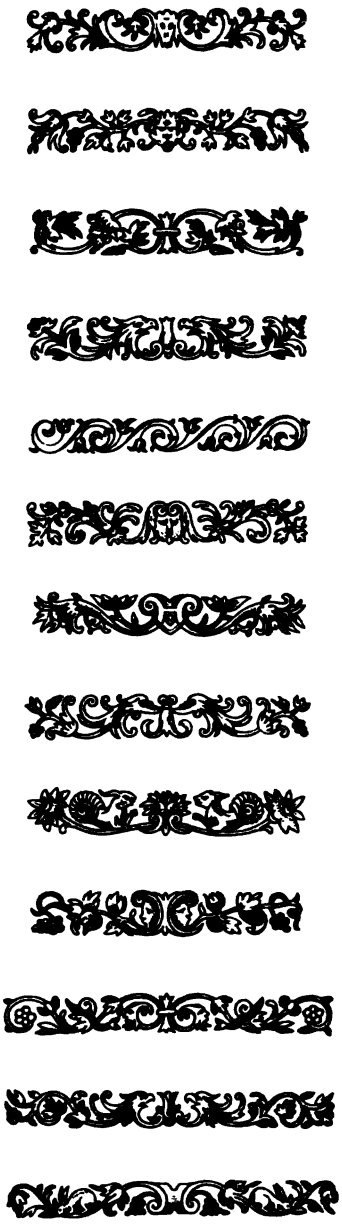
Designed by Charlotte Whittingham. Engraved by Mary Byfield.



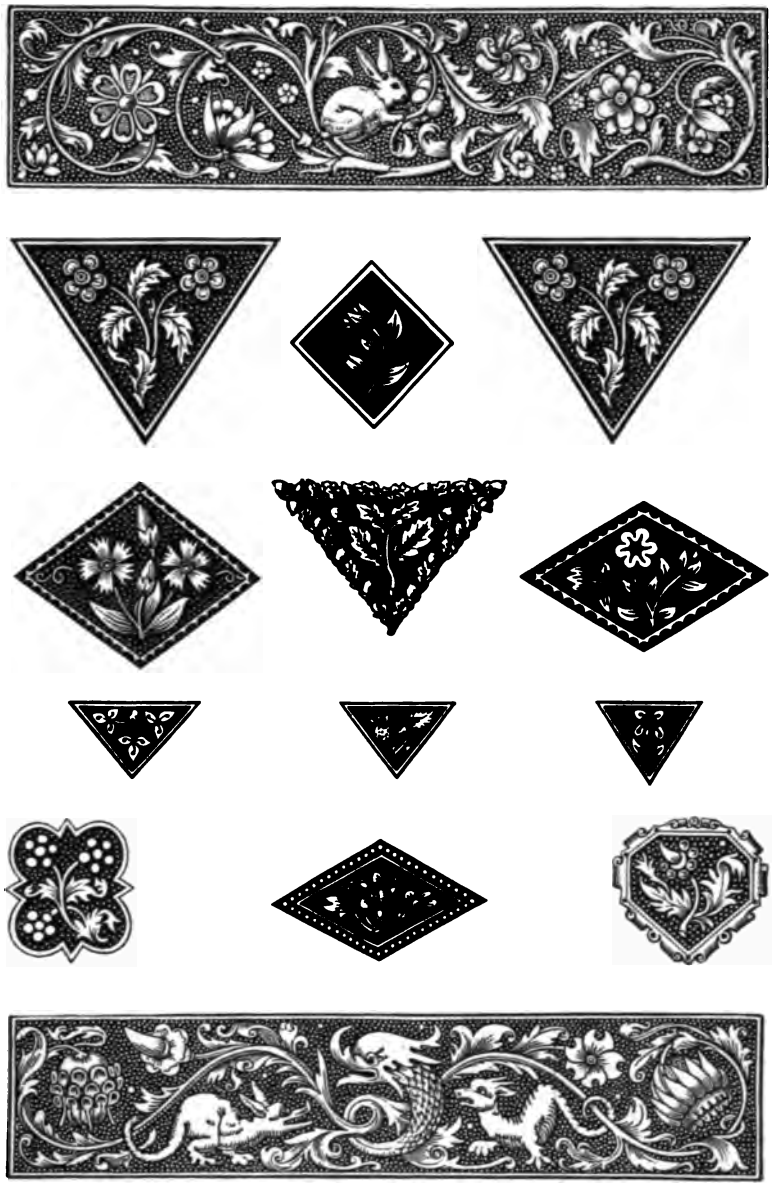
Designed by Charlotte Whittingham. Engraved by Mary Byfield.



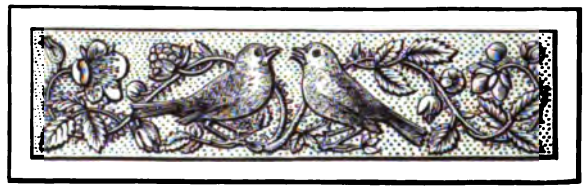
From an old book, engraved by Mary Byfield.
Used as a Title Border for Kempis' "Imitatio Christi."

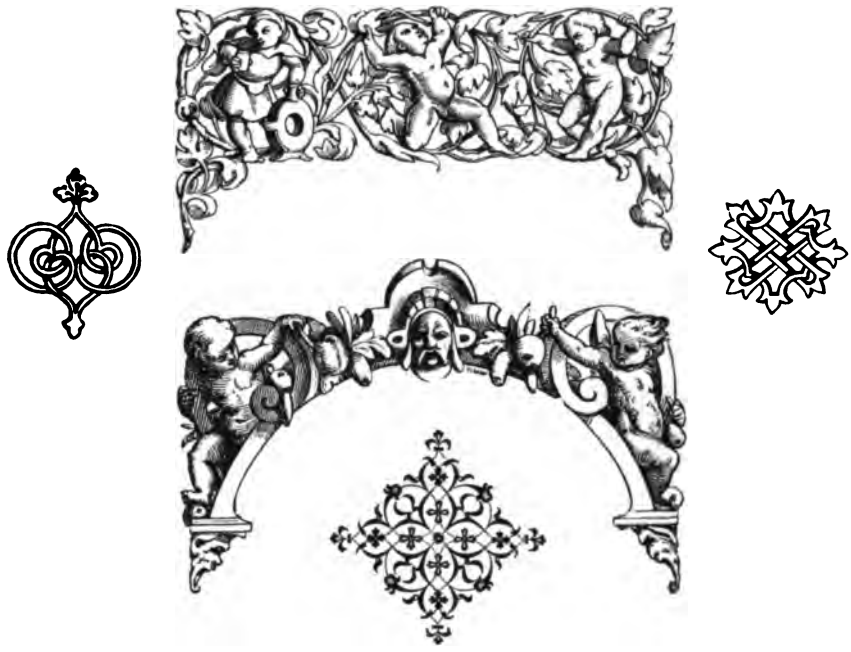


Adapted from an old book,
and engraved by Mary Byfield.

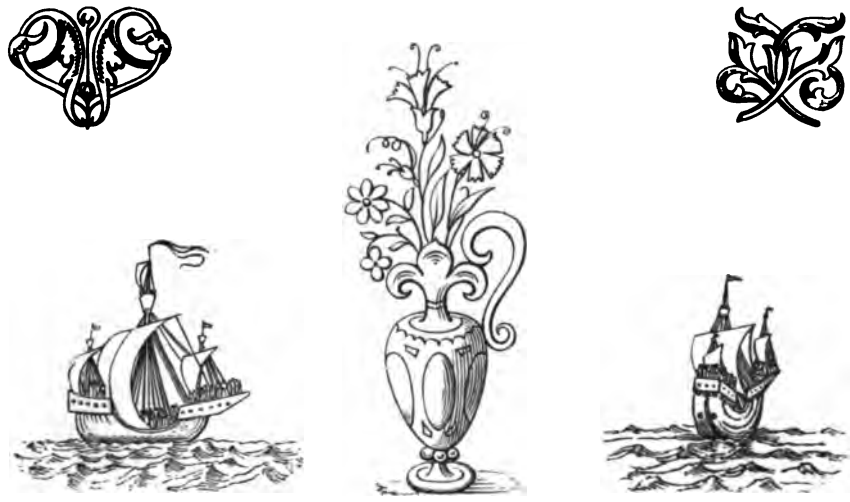


Headbands designed by Charlotte Whittingham.
Tailpieces designed by Elizabeth Eleanor Whittingham. Engraved by Mary Byfield.

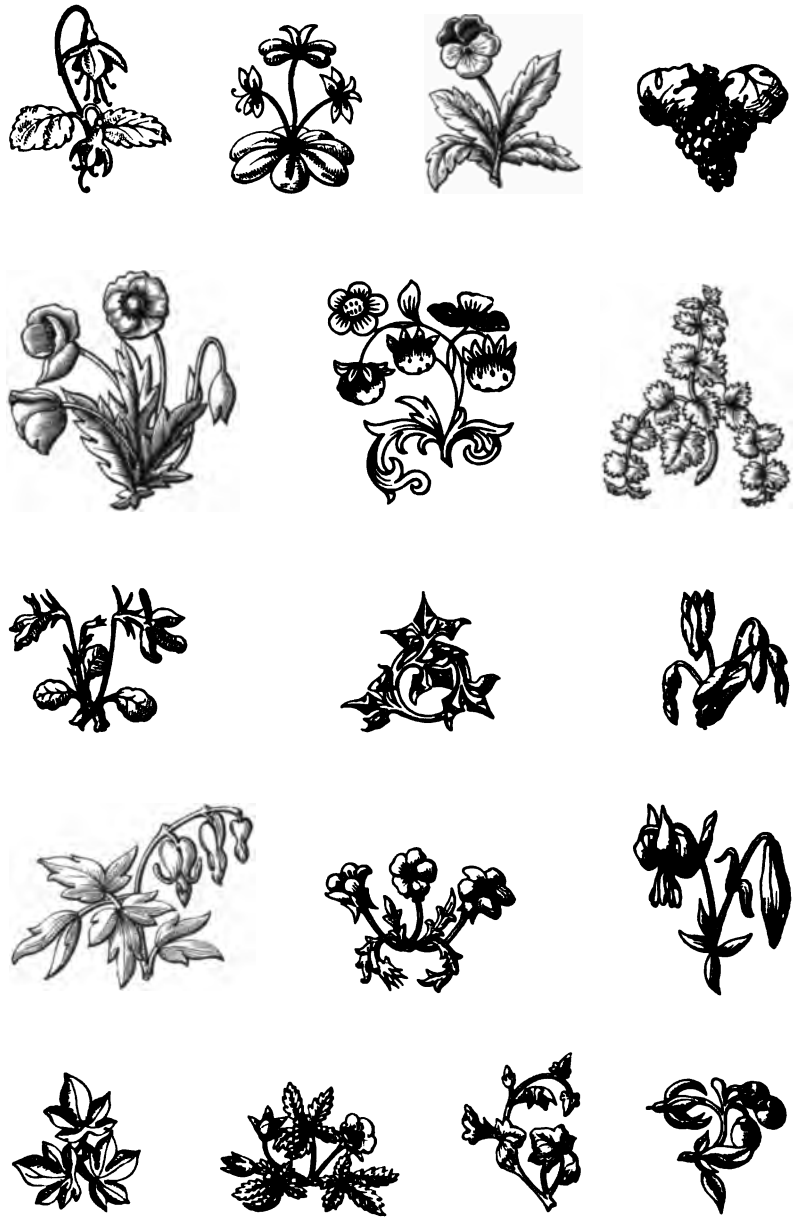




Engraved for Pickering. Artist and engraver unknown.

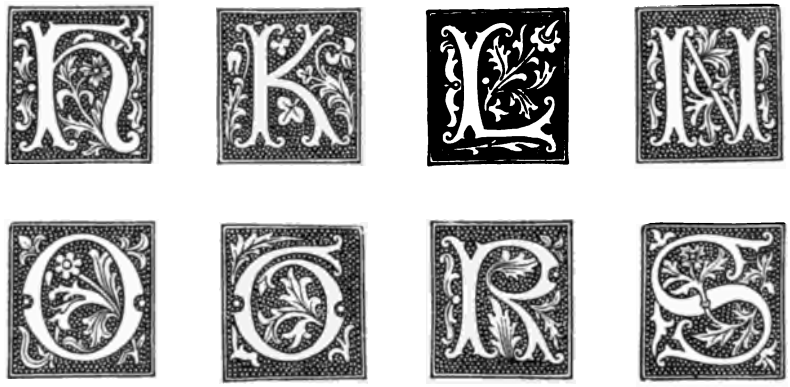


Engraved by Mary Byfield.

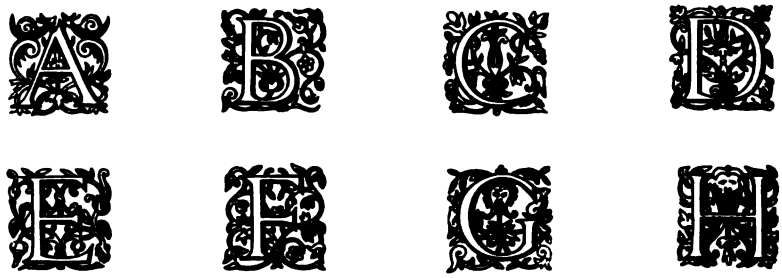


Title Border for Donne's "Devotion," printed for Pickering in 1840.

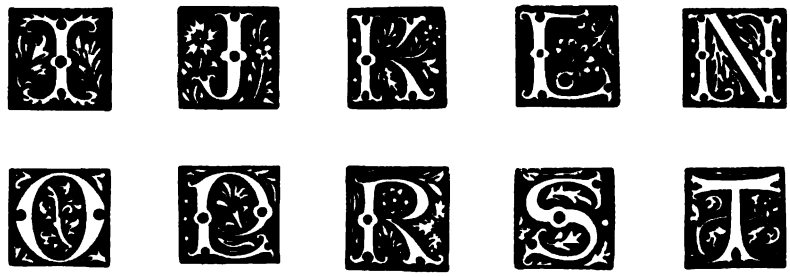
Adapted from an old book. Engraved by Mary Byfield.



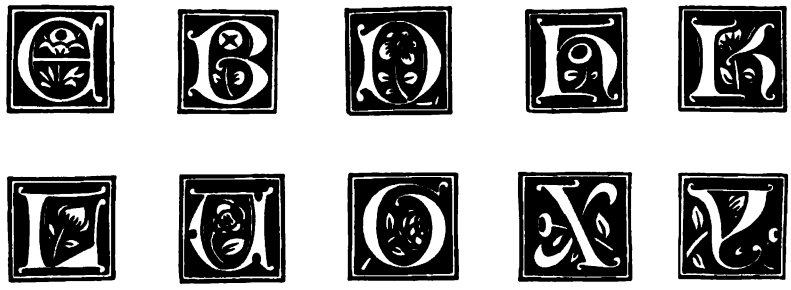
From Shaw's "Alphabets." Engraved by Mary Byfield.



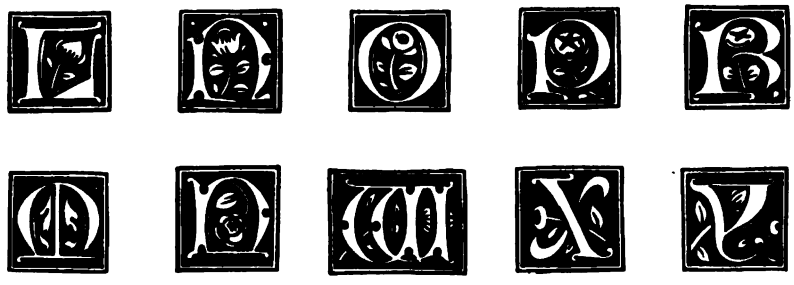
Adapted from an old book. Engraved by Mary Byfield.



Adapted from an old book. Engraved by Mary Byfield.



Adapted from an old book. Engraved by Mary Byfield.



The same as above, with dotted ground.

From Shaw's "Alphabets." Engraved by Mary Byfield.

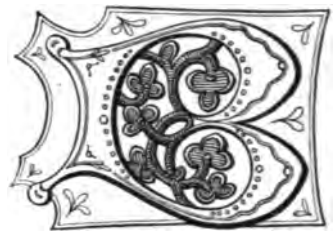
Designer and engraver unknown.

Designed by Charlotte Whittingham for the Book of Ruth.

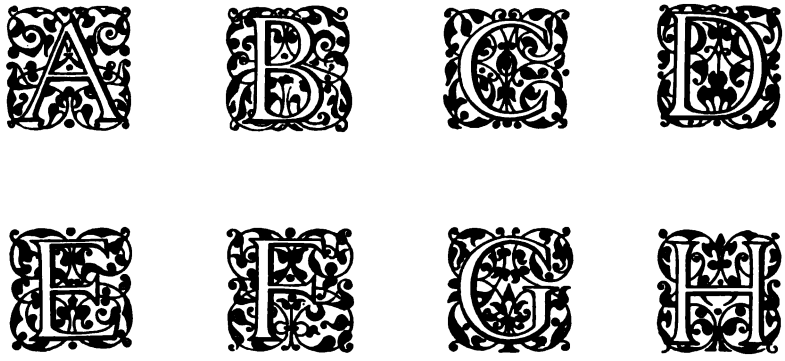
Designer and engraver unknown.

Designer and engraver unknown.

Designer and engraver unknown.



Designer and engraver unknown.

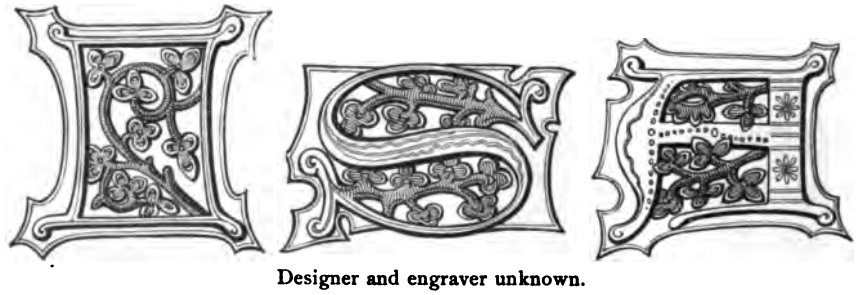


Adapted from an old book. Engraved by Mary Byfield.

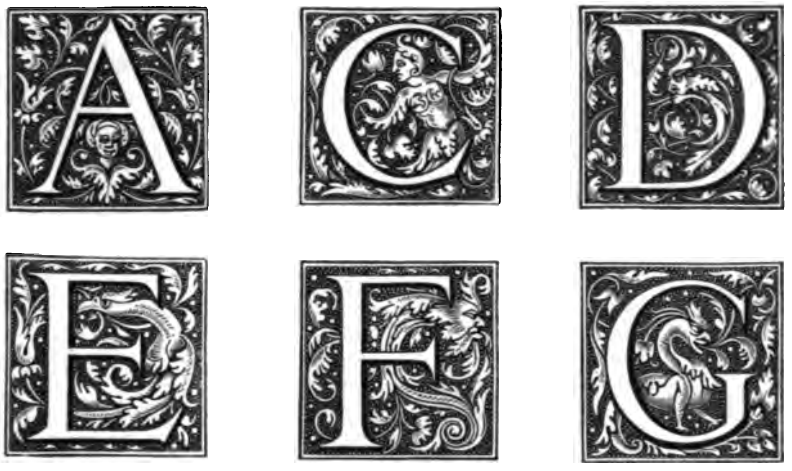
The same design, with black dotted ground, adapted and engraved by Mary Byfield.

Adapted from an old book. Engraved by Mary Byfield.

Adapted from an old book. Engraved by Mary Byfield.



Designer and engraver unknown.



Adapted from an old book. Engraved by Mary Byfield.

Adapted from an old book. Engraved by Mary Byfield.

Designer and engraver unknown.

Designer and engraver unknown.

From an old book. Engraved by Mary Byfield.

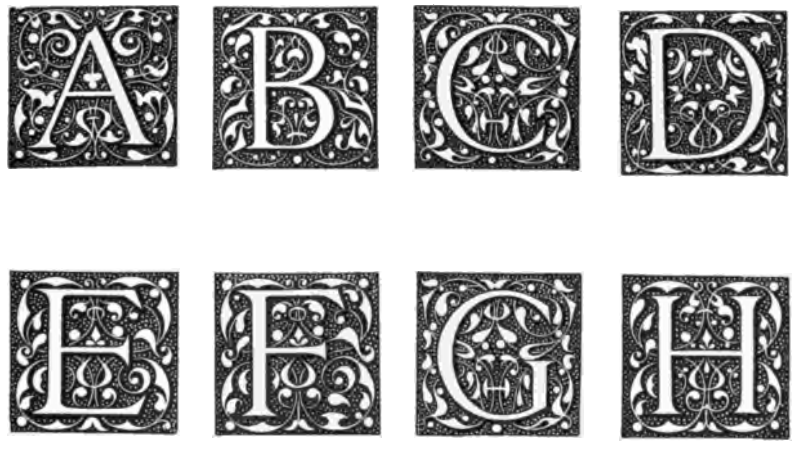
Designer and engraver unknown.

Engraved by Mary Byfield.

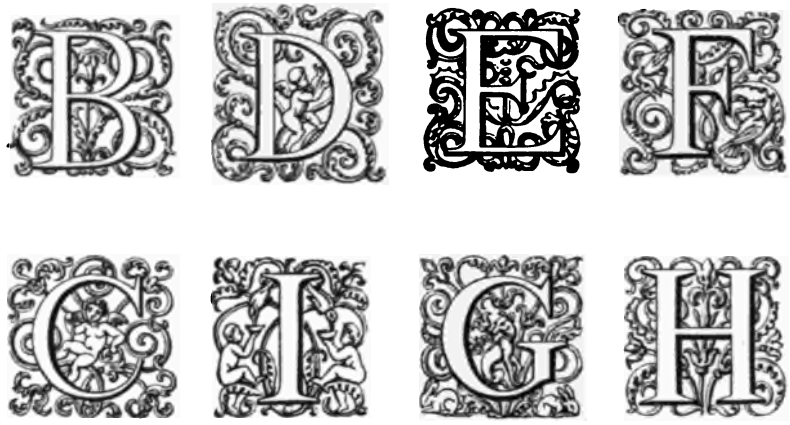
Reduced in facsimile from an old book, by Elizabeth Whittingham. Used in title to "Breviarium Aberdonense." Engraved by Mary Byfield.

From old books. Engraved by Mary Byfield.

Adapted from an old book. Engraved by Mary Byfield.



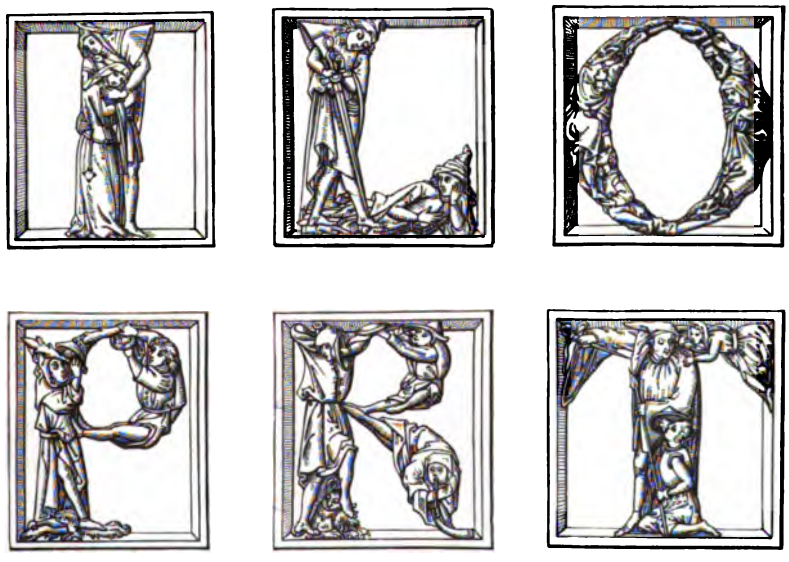
The same design, adapted and engraved with black dotted ground, by Mary Byfield.



From an Alphabet designed by Thomas Stothard.
Engraved by John Thompson in 1833, and used in Lowndes' "Bibliographer's Manual" for William Pickering.
They were afterward in general use at the Chiswick Press.

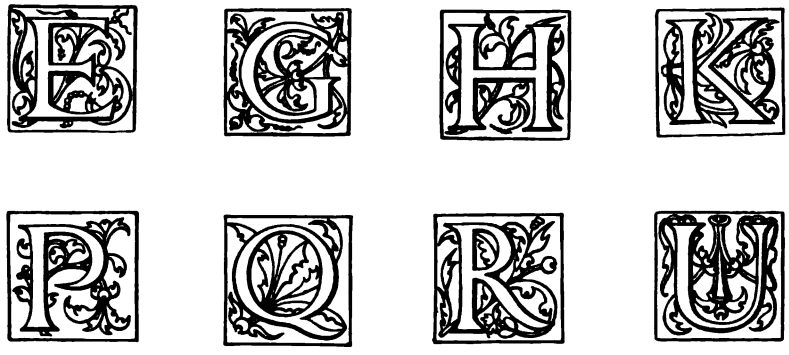
The Stothard designs redrawn to size with uniform and more elegant letters by Elizabeth Eleanor Whittingham. Engraved by Mary Byfield.

Adapted from an old book. Engraved by Mary Byfield.



Partly adapted from an old book known as the "Grotesque Alphabet."
Partly designed by Charlotte and Elizabeth Eleanor Whittingham.
Engraved by Mary Byfield.

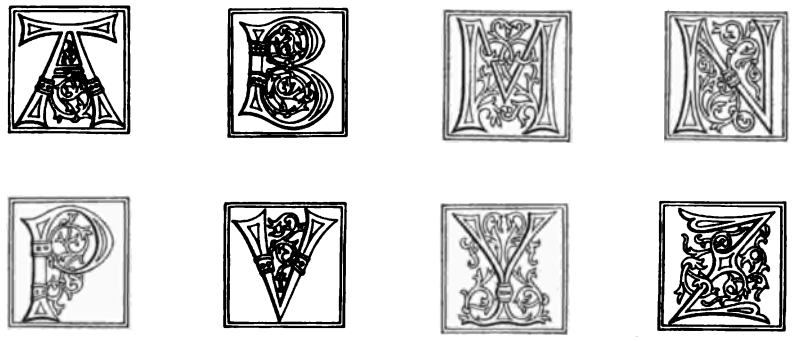
Designed by Charlotte Whittingham. Engraved by Mary Byfield.



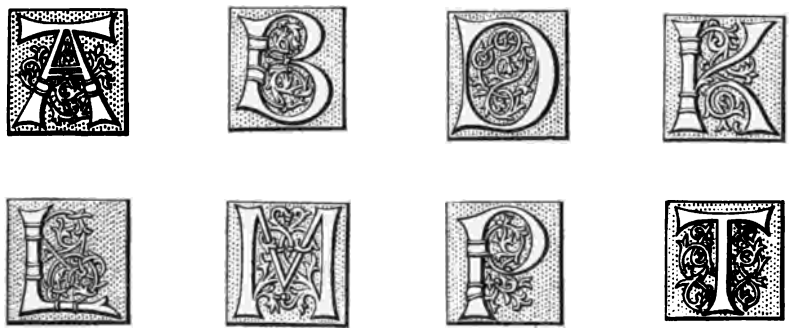
Designed by Charlotte Whittingham. Engraved by Mary Byfield.

Designed by Charlotte Whittingham. Engraved on metal by H. King.

In almost every case the Ornaments and Alphabets designed by Charlotte Whittingham and Elizabeth Eleanor Whittingham were made as finished drawings, and then were re-drawn by them on the wood. The engraver had the finished drawing to work by.



Adapted from the Gulden Bible by Elizabeth Eleanor Whittingham.



The same designs engraved with dotted ground by Mary Byfield.

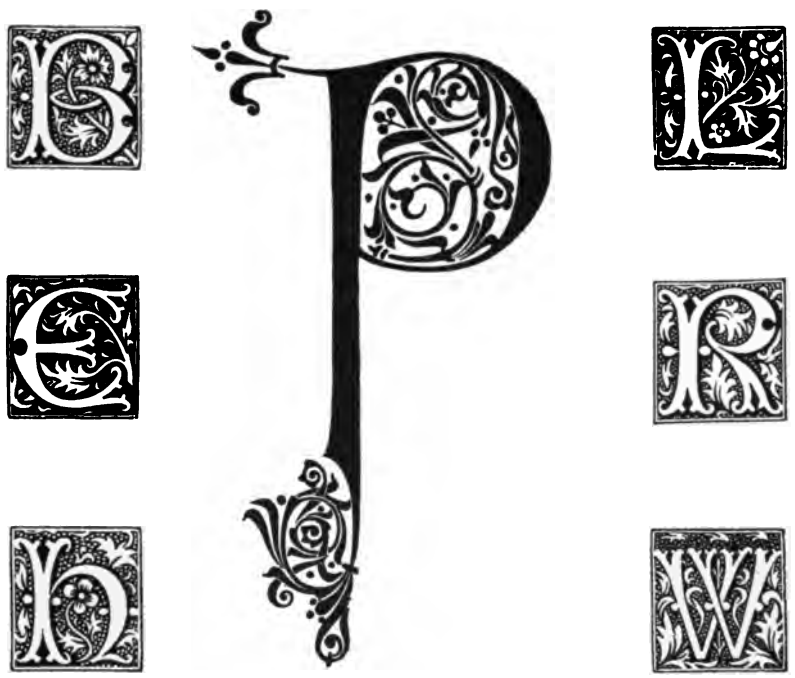
Designed by Charlotte Whittingham. Engraved by Mary Byfield.
Used for initials in title-pages.

Designed by Elizabeth Eleanor Whittingham. Engraved by Mary Byfield.

The same design with a black background. Engraved by Mary Byfield.

From an old book, designed by Charlotte and E. E. Whittingham.

From Shaw's "Alphabets." Engraved by Mary Byfield.



From Shaw's "Alphabets." Engraved by Mary Byfield.

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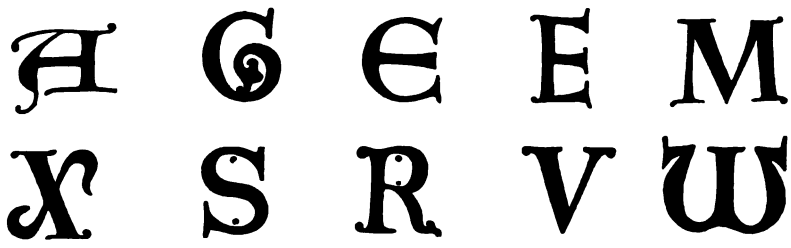

From Shaw's "Alphabets." Engraved by Mary Byfield.

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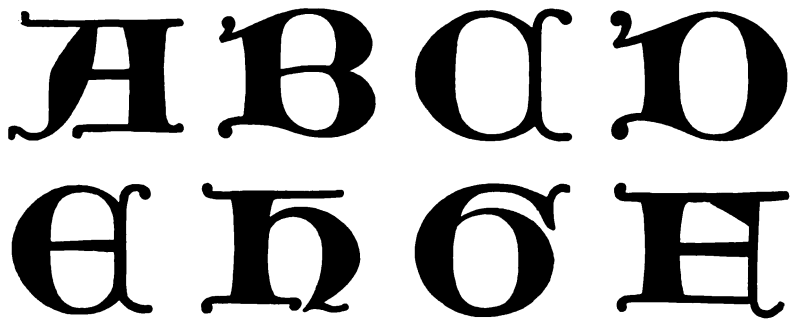

Engraved by Mary Byfield and used in "Breviarium Aberdonense."

Title Border for Fuller's "Holy and Profane State."
Printed for Pickering in 1840.

The Brooks, Winchester. From "The Cathedral Antiquities."

THE HAND-PRESS

I HAVE pointed out that until Whittingham the Nephew retired in 1860 hand-presses only were used at the Chiswick Press. This preference for the hand-press was justifiable. The most approved form of British power-printing machine in use between the years 1820 and 1860 was that known as the "Cylinder," but its efficiency was greatest upon newspaper work. Printers called it "the type-smasher," since its resisting wooden bearers sank under pressure and could not be properly adjusted. There were but few cylinders so

accurately made that a pressman could insure perfect register. For the commoner kind of bookwork the cylinder did good service, and it had been successfully used for the printing of journals illustrated with open or coarse woodcuts. But it failed miserably when tested on the printing of blocks that had been finely cut, or fully shaded, as any one may see in the earlier numbers of the "Penny Magazine."

Cylindrical printing-machines, even when provided, as they are now, with the greatest strength and with accuracy in adjustment, and adapted as they are to great varieties of work, have their limitations clearly marked. For large editions which must be done in haste, they have no rivals. Even in the field of fine woodcut work, for which they were once thought entirely unfitted, they are now triumphant over the platen machines. They print woodcuts and process plates on sheets of great size, with a strength and a delicacy that were simply impossible thirty years ago. The pictorial paper, magazine, school book, and catalogue have been really created by the once-despised cylinder-press.

But the cylinder is most efficient for large editions. For the printing of short editions on small paper it is not economical. As a rule it costs the master printer more to produce in the best style two hundred copies of a modern sheet on a cylinder-press than it would upon a hand-press. For either press there must be a certain amount of preparation in "making-ready" that cannot be slighted or evaded. For this work the hand-press, with its open bed and exposed type, rollers, and impression surface, is more convenient than the cylinder. Impression can be more nicely adjusted with less effort; inking

can be varied at will; the press can be stopped, and slight defects corrected, with small loss of time. When a pressman of the old school stood before his press, thoroughly trained in his craft, master of it and of himself, he could and did produce workmanship that has never been excelled by any automatic machine.

Part of the Palace, Wells. From "The Cathedral Antiquities."

PRINTING INK

MOXON, in his "Mechanick Exercises" of 1683, framed this formidable indictment against the ink-makers of his time: "Our Inck-makers to save charges mingle many times Trane-Oyl among theirs, and a great deal of Rosin; which Trane-Oyl by its grossness, Furs and Choaks up a Form, and by its fatness hinders the Inck from drying; so that when the Work comes to the Binders, it Sets off; and besides is dull, smeary and unpleasant to the Eye. And the Rosin if too great a quantity be put in, and the Form be not very Lean Beaten [scantily inked], makes the Inck turn yel-

low: And the same does New Linseed-Oyl. Secondly, They seldom Boyl or Burn it to that consistence the Hollanders do, because they not only save labour and Fewel, but have a greater weight of Inck out of the same quantity of Oyl when less Burnt away than when more Burnt away; which want of Burning makes the Inck also, though made of good old Linseed Oyl, Fat and Smeary, and hinders its Drying; so that when it comes to the Binders it also Sets off. Thirdly, They do not use that way of clearing their Inck the Hollanders do, or indeed any other way than meer Burning it, whereby the Inck remains more Oyly and Greasie than if it were well clarified. Fourthly, They to save the Press-man the labour of Rubbing the Blacking into Varnish on the Inck-Block, Boyl the Blacking in the Varnish, or at least put the Blacking in whilst the Varnish is yet Boyling-hot, which so Burns and Rubifies the Blacking, that it loses much of its brisk and vivid black complexion. Fifthly, Because Blacking is dear, and adds little to the weight of Inck, they stint themselves to a quantity which they exceed not; so that sometimes the Inck proves so unsufferable Pale, that the Press-man is forc'd to Rub in more Blacking upon the Block; yet this he is often so loth to do, that he will rather hazard the content the Colour shall give, than take the pains to amend it: satisfying himself that he can lay the blame upon the Inck-maker."

This description of ink-making and using was as true of the printers of the eighteenth century as it had been of those of the seventeenth. The gray tint, the oily outline, and the smeary look of the type were as common as ever.

In another part of his book Moxon gave directions for

the improved manufacture of ink. When made according to his recipe, the ink must have been better than the mixture he condemns, but it would not satisfy the needs of a modern printer. Moxon used three ingredients only —smoke-black, resin, and linseed-oil. Nowhere does he speak of a mill for the grinding or more thorough incorporation of the black with the varnish. The printing-ink used by him, and by all printers for more than a century after him, was nothing more than an imperfect and unscientific trituration of smoke-black and boiled-oil stiffened with resin.

The great fault of eighteenth-century printing-inks was their grayness. At the beginning of the nineteenth century endeavors were made to remove this defect by overloading the varnish with black. This improved the depth of the color, but all the color so added did not adhere to the oil or the paper. When the oil dried much of the black was freed, and set off on the opposite page, or transferred itself to the fingers of the incautious reader.

This fault, more to be dreaded than that of grayness, was one that the elder Whittingham had to overcome. The professional ink-makers gave him little help, and he was obliged to manufacture his own ink. Other printers followed his example, and indirectly compelled the ink-makers for the trade to furnish better inks. The service rendered by these reformers was properly acknowledged by Bensley, in 1842,[1] when he said that "thirty years ago the good execution of printing at once testified to the skill and industry of the printer — as he could command neither good presses, types nor ink . . . We have

[1] Dibdin's "Bibliomania," 8vo, London, 1876, footnote on page 617.

now ink of splendid lustre, at a fourth of the cost of fabrication then; our ink is now to be depended on for standing, it works freely, and can be had at reasonable prices . . . The substitution of the inking roller, instead of the cumbrous and inconvenient old balls, has much eased the labours of the pressman, and facilitated the regularity of colour."

THE DE VINNE PRESS
IMPRIMATUR

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Abbreviations used: *U.* for uncle and *N.* for nephew.

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—bound to one Richard Bird, of Coventry, 13.
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—sees some of Baskerville's books, 16.
—supposed to have engaged with Hughes, 18.
—sets up a press in Dean Street, Fetter Lane, 1789, 19, 28.
—prints title, etc., of Young's "Night Thoughts," 1792, for Wills and Wayland, 21.
—prints Thomas Paine's "Letters to Dundas," 1792, 21.
—prints 20,000 posting bills for T. Wills, 1793, 22.
—prints two weekly papers for a Mr. Riley, 22.
—printing bill for types from Caslon's amounts to £500 a year, 1794-5-6, etc., 23.
—receives proposal to print Chinese Dictionary, 23.
—married Miss Mary Mead, 24.
—prints title, etc., of the "Age of Reason," 1795, 24.
—prints newspaper called "The Tomahawk," 24.
—first to produce "India," or "Fine Paper," editions, 26.
—prints handsome Prayer Book for John Reeves about 1796, 26.
—prints "Pity's Gift," his first illustrated book, in 1797, 28-30.
—prints "The Village Orphan," 31.
—prints "Johnson's Dictionary" in miniature, 31-32.
—leases a second house in Dean Street, 32.
—takes 9, Paradise Row, Islington, as a residence, 32.
—prints "The Poems of Mr. Gray," in 1799, 32-33.
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—prints "The British Classics," 37.
—prints "The Spectator," "The Tatler," etc., in twenty-two volumes, 37.
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—prints "The Christian Observer" for Zachary Macaulay, 39.
—took workshop at 10, Union Buildings, Leather Lane, the "Stanhope Press," 39-40.
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